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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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18 MARCH 1987

USSR REPORT
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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PRAVDA VIEWS U.S. PRESS COVERAGE OF CPSU PLENUM

PM041631 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 87 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Own correspondent G. Vasilyev dispatch: "View from the Other Shore. The CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the American Press"]

[Text] New York, 3 February--"See how we presented the report from Moscow--as the day's lead story," I was told in the NEW YORK TIMES editorial office, which I visited the day after the first news of the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum reached here. Indeed, the start of the dispatch providing an account of the report at the plenum, together with a photograph of M.S. Gorbachev, occupied the top right corner of the front page--the position traditionally allocated to the day's main event. And this despite the fact that the same issue carried a report on President Regan's "State of the Union" message.

The next day the same NEW YORK TIMES devoted one of its editorial articles to the plenum, entitling it "Russian Revolution." While stipulating that "from Gorbachev's lips democracy and open society do not mean what they meant to Thomas Jefferson"--a remark which it is hardly worth disputing, for the great American president expressed the interests of the bourgeoisie--the editorial writer acknowledged the far-reaching positive nature of the reforms being implemented in the Soviet Union.

The example of the NEW YORK TIMES is the rule rather than the exception. Almost all the "serious" American newspapers that I have managed to look through--the WASHINGTON POST, the LOS ANGELES TIMES, the BOSTON GLOBE, the BALTIMORE SUN, the PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, and others--carried reports from Moscow either on the front page or prominently on the inside pages. Taking into account the preference that the press here gives to its own "domestic" affairs and the generally scant coverage of what happens in other countries, such attention to our party plenum may be considered evidence of the fact that the historic restructuring taking place in the USSR not only arouses great interest here but also gives rise to attempts to put its own interpretation on what is happening.

The policy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, which is being vigorously implemented in the Soviet Union, and its specific manifestations have in recent months become for people in the West both a constant source of news and food for thought and argument. "The news coming out of Moscow today at an amazing rate by previous Soviet standards," WASHINGTON POST

commentator Jim Hoagland writes, is prompting a fresh reaction and a reappraisal. Gorbachev's actions and proposals are increasingly being perceived as meriting serious study and comment...."

Yes, attempts to brush aside what is happening in the Soviet Union and to pass off the major socioeconomic transformations which we are implementing as "cosmetic changes" are increasingly receding into the past. Although relapses into that approach are still encountered sometimes. American congressmen were exhorted in this spirit, for example, by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Rozanne Ridgway, when she addressed the Congressional Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. She tried to convince the legislators that the efforts being made by the CPSU and the Soviet Government "are attempts to somehow patch holes in the system rather than a fundamental restructuring." That assessment is hotly contested by the scientist Olin Robison, president of Middleburg College (Vermont), who has just visited the Soviet Union. He declares in the pages of the BOSTON GLOBE: "The Soviet Union is in the early stages of important structural changes.... Gorbachev is a committed Marxist-Leninist who wishes to demonstrate that the socialist system can work well."

In the opinion of another major American newspaper--the BALTIMORE SUN--the plenum report's "appeal for an open and frank discussion of the country's problems" signifies a desire to revive the spirit of the lively creative debate "which existed in the party during the years of Lenin's leadership before and after the October Revolution."

It has become the rule that American newspapers publish almost every day some report or other from the USSR on new measures to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development, on the democratization of social life, or the extension of openness. These reports elicit conflicting reactions but leave no one indifferent. Whereas true champions of progress and people concerned about the fate of peace welcome these steps, false friends of democracy among the inveterate anti-Soviets are nonplussed. It has become far more difficult for them to set Americans against the Soviet Union, to substantiate the need for a "tough line" with regard to the USSR, and to demonstrate the "impossibility" of reaching accords with Moscow. What is undoubtedly getting through to both the former and the latter is the fact that the Soviet Union is becoming increasingly strong as a result of implementing the political line of the 27th CPSU Congress. And this is making representatives of reactionary U.S. circles wish for the process of renewal in the Soviet Union to be slowed down and, even better, reversed.

Ill-wishers pin their chief hopes on the premise that the socialist system as such "will not accept" either the far-reaching democratization of society or efficient economic reforms built on enhanced material incentives and the increased role and significance of labor collectives. This viewpoint is expressed, for example, by U.S. Ambassador A. Hartman, who is ending his work in Moscow, in an interview in the magazine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT. Like some other American "Sovietologists," the ambassador plainly confuses two different things: the accumulated negative phenomena in the Soviet Union's economic and social life and the essence of the socialist system. These "Sovietologists" are incapable of understanding--which is hardly surprising for committed champions of

capitalism--what tremendous advantages socialism possesses as a new social system, whose potential is to be revealed and utilized increasingly fully today as a result of the efforts of the CPSU and the entire Soviet people.

Those who overtly do not wish us well also hope that the process of socioeconomic transformations in the Soviet Union will come to a halt because of resistance to the reforms on the part of conservative elements in society. Reflecting this viewpoint, (G. Li) and C. Bohlen, Moscow correspondents of the WASHINGTON POST, write of "fear for their privileges" on the part of a certain section of party and state apparatus workers who, so they say, are "opponents of change."

"Gorbachev has sown the seeds. Will they sprout?"--this is the title of an article in the latest issue of BUSINESS WEEK magazine. To sum up the facts and assessments--frequently contradictory--which it contains, it is possible to conclude that, in the opinion of the organ of U.S. business circles, these seeds are already putting out good shoots, although the Soviet Union is only at the start of historic changes. The article notes the accelerated rate of increase in industrial and agricultural production in the USSR last year and speaks of extensive new powers being granted to leaders and workers of enterprises of a number of industrial ministries. The magazine devotes special attention to the opportunities opening up before American business in the sphere of so-called "joint ventures"--joint enterprises with the participation of the USSR and Western firms. "The prospects for such business ties and for improvements in other spheres of American-Soviet relations will improve significantly," the authors conclude, "if an arms control agreement--the No 1 objective in Gorbachev's efforts with regard to the United States--is concluded."

The article's authors comment favorably, on the whole, on the changes in the life of Soviet society and plainly give preference to the development of normal and constructive relations between our two countries. This attests that, in addition to the pedlars of the military-industrial complex, there are in the ranks of American business forces which understand the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and realize the serious negative consequences of an unbridled arms race for the United States itself.

The discussion of the results of the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum and of the entire process of the Soviet society's renewal has moved from the newspapers' front pages, on which the latest news, both domestic and foreign news, is carried haere, to the editorial pages of periodicals and to the studios of television companies bringing commentators and politicians together. The Americans' approach to what is happening in the Soviet Union is naturally different from ours. It is, as it were, a view from the other shore, from another sociopolitical system. The assessments contain much that is contradictory and sometimes badly concealed malevolence. But what all probably agree on is the fact that the Soviet Union has entered upon a dynamic period of major changes which will be of tremendous significance not only for the Soviet people but also for the whole world.

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CSO: 1800/345

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

IZVESTIYA EDITORIALIZES ON JANUARY PLENUM

PM021247 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the Acceleration of Restructuring"]

[Text] The latest CPSU Central Committee plenum was held in Moscow over 2 days. A report "On Restructuring and the Party's Cadres Policy" was delivered at the plenum by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Why is it that these two tasks--restructuring and cadres--have today acquired paramount importance and in such interconnected sequence? Because the fate of the country today depends on the fate of restructuring, while the matter of restructuring depends on the condition of cadres. This is why, having emphasized that "we simply have no other alternative but restructuring, we cannot retreat and have nowhere to retreat to," the CPSU Central Committee plenum noted in its resolution: "The success of restructuring will be determined to a decisive extent by how fast and how deeply our cadres acquire an understanding of the need for revolutionary changes, by how decisively, energetically, and competently they will act."

But before mapping out the ways to solve these fundamental tasks, the plenum analyzed once more and in detail the reasons which necessitated sharp changes in the country's sociopolitical and economic life. In other words, the need for an abrupt restructuring.

It is well known that, at a certain stage in its development, our country started slowing down in its advance, and that negative phenomena started accumulating in various spheres of life. But, as it was noted in the report, the CPSU Central Committee and the country's leadership, primarily due to subjective reasons, failed to promptly and fully assess the need for urgent changes, discern the danger of the buildup of crisis phenomena in society, and lay down a clear-cut line to overcome them. Moreover, in the elaboration of the political course and in practical activity the upper hand was increasingly often gained by conservative sentiments, the desire to brush aside everything that did not fit within the customary ossified framework, and the striving to mute and even completely silence critical thinking, whether with regard to economic or social relations. All this created a kind of braking mechanism.

But the road cannot be cleared of obstacles just by pretending they do not exist. Negative phenomena spreads far and wide. They spread to the economy to the economy and to the sociopolitical and social spheres.

All this demanded immediate rectification. The CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th Party Congress raised the issue directly and unambiguously: Restructuring is an objective necessity. Essentially, the issue concerned a turnabout and measures of a revolutionary nature. It was emphasized once more at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum that they spread to all aspects of Soviet society's life. Restructuring means decisively overcoming stagnant processes, demolishing the braking mechanism, and creating a reliable and efficient machinery for the acceleration of Soviet society's socioeconomic development.

Restructuring means relying on the living creativity of the masses, it means comprehensively developing democracy and socialist self-management, encouraging initiative and self-motivated work, strengthening discipline and order, and expanding publicity, criticism and self-criticism in all spheres of society's life; it means boosting respect for the value and dignity of the individual.

Restructuring means steadily enhancing the role of intensive factors in the Soviet economy's development; restoring and developing the Leninist principles of democratic centralism in the national economy's management, introducing economic methods of management everywhere, rejecting management by order or administrative decree, ensuring the transition of all economic links to the principles of complete financial autonomy and new forms of labor and production organization, and encouraging by all means innovation and socialist enterprise.

Restructuring means turning firmly in the direction of science and ensuring a businesslike partnership between science and practical work with the aim of achieving high end results, it means ability to place any initiative on a solid scientific basis and scientists' readiness and ardent desire to actively support the party's course for the renewal of society; at the same time, it also means concern for the development of science, the growth of scientific cadres, and their participation in the processes of transformation.

Restructuring means priority development for the social sphere, increasingly full satisfaction of Soviet people's needs for good conditions for labor, everyday life, leisure, education, and medical services; it means constant concern for the spiritual richness and culture of each person and of society as a whole; it means ability to combine the solution of the large-scale fundamental problems of society's life with the solution of current problems which perturb people.

Restructuring means being energetic in freeing society from the distortions of socialist morals and consistently implementing the principles of social justice; it means unity of words and deeds, of rights and obligations; it means extolling honest high-quality labor and overcoming trends toward wage leveling and consumerism.

Thus, the tasks facing the party and the whole Soviet people are really revolutionary. Their solution must lead to a most profound renewal of all aspects of our country's life and must impart to socialism the most modern forms of a social organization.

It was noted at the CPSU Central Committee plenum that restructuring has stirred all healthy forces in society and has gained active support from the overwhelming majority of the people. Thanks to this, a new moral and ethical atmosphere is developing in the country. Publicity, truthfulness in evaluating phenomena and events, and implacability toward shortcomings are becoming increasingly firmly established as active principles of life. Demandingness and discipline and organization in production have been enhanced. All this, taken together, has already made it possible to achieve certain positive developments in various sectors of the economy, and in particular in machine building, ferrous metallurgy, and the coal and gas industries. Positive developments can also be seen in the country's agrarian sector.

But so far restructuring has only taken its first few steps. The main and most complex work still lies ahead. That that is where we cannot manage without enterprising, energetic, and thinking people capable of boldly marching forward. A whole number of such leaders were named at the plenum. There was, however, also talk about the fact that there are still quite a few people in the country who are very slow and at times totally unwilling to cast off the burden of former habits and views, of work methods that hinder acceleration. Hence the still numerous blunders and shortcomings, red tape and bureaucratic style of leadership in various sectors of production.

This style is yesterday's style, totally incompatible with the demands of today's businesslike atmosphere. This is why the CPSU Central Committee plenum emphasized in the resolution it adopted "that the decisive criterion for evaluating cadres and their political and civic stance is the attitude toward restructuring and tasks of the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development, and the real actions for their implementation. The party will promote and back workers who not only pursue the policy of restructuring but have actively and creatively joined the process of renewal, dedicate all their energy to the common cause, and can achieve success. Anyone incapable of improving the state of affairs in the sector entrusted to him, remaining indifferent toward the changes that are taking place, and holding on to what is old is not entitled to occupy a leadership position."

And everything that is new and born out of restructuring is already standing on its own feet and is being tested in the struggle against the obsolete. Fundamental transformation is underway in the material and technical base, as are a profound reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of scientific and technical progress and changes in investment and structural policy. Major measures are being implemented at the same time to improve management. A number of sectors, enterprises, and associations have started working on the basis of complete financial autonomy and self-recoupment. The economy's sectors which are directly involved in satisfying the population's needs--the agroindustrial complex, light industry, trade, and the services sphere--have started working in line with principles which ensure broad independence and which enhance responsibility.

But this is just the start of the most profound changes for whose sake the revolution of our time has been launched--the restructuring which is no longer just an idea but already a reality, and which enjoys growing support in society.

The CPSU CEntral Committee January Plenum, which accurately and clearly defined the main tasks of the present, has ended its work. Now it is a matter of implementing these tasks. It is up to communists and nonparty people. Up to rank-and-file workers and leaders. There is no turning back from restructuring. The road leads only ahead. A difficult road, not without struggles. But leading to the flourishing of socialism and democracy.

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CSO: 1800/346

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

PRAVDA LETTERS FOCUS ON JANUARY PLENUM

PM121041 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 February 1987 first edition devotes the whole of page to a selection of readers' letters in response to the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum under the heading "Thoughts On Essential Matters." The editorial introduction to the feature talks of working people seeing the plenum as an "event of historic significance" and expressing the "unanimous view that it will impart powerful momentum to the restructuring and renewal of Soviet society."

The writers welcome the plenum's decisions. With reference to M.S. Gorbachev's plenum report, one writer says: "How long have we been waiting for such a discussion of urgent matters!" A recurrent theme of the letters is bureaucracy. One writer complains that "we people down below, in labor collectives, have not heard a word from our administrators about democratization. The administration is subtly and politely leading the members of their collectives away from the 'dangerous' topic." "Such administrators are psychologically averse to democratization and therefore to restructuring as well," the letter goes on. Another writer mentions the danger of officials "suffocating restructuring in piles of documents, forms, and the usual rubbish."

There are letters emphasizing the need to enable nonparty people to play a more prominent role in society. One writer says that "more clever, capable nonparty specialists must be admitted to leading posts." thus preventing opportunists from joining the party purely for reasons of self-advancement. Another writer picks up the theme: "Distrust of talented, knowledgeable nonparty specialists has been increasing yearly for some reason." "We are all devoted to the ideas of Lenin and our party's policy," he adds, urging that capable, conscientious nonparty workers be given the opportunity to do agitation work as well.

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CSO: 1800/343

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

PRAVDA PUBLISHES RESOLUTION ON KRASNOYARSK KRAY

PM231413 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 87 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has examined the question of "The Work of the Krasnoyarsk CPSU Kraykom To Improve Working People's Social Conditions and Amenities."

The resolution adopted notes that the development of production at a number of enterprises in Krasnoyarsk Kray has been successfully coordinated with the expansion, reconstruction, and modernization of projects in the social area. At the Norilsk A.P. Zavenyagin Mining and Metallurgical Combine, the Krasnoyarsk V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Plant, the Khakasskaya poultry farm, the sovkhos named for the 60th anniversary of October, and some other enterprises the necessary social conditions and amenities for people's work, daily life, study, and leisure have been created.

At the same time, as analysis of economic development has shown, the kray's social infrastructure is chronically lagging behind the requirements of the rapidly developing national economy. In terms of saturation with fixed industrial production capital and the volume of capital construction the kray occupies a leading place in the RSFSR, yet in terms of the working people's social conditions and amenities it lags considerably behind the republic average. The growing gulf between the production and social areas makes it impossible to effectively utilize the existing local potential. The production and labor productivity growth rates in industry have decreased and the targets for these indicators were not met during the last 5-year plan. The utilization of fixed capital has deteriorated.

The CPSU Kraykom Bureau, the krayispolkom, and the kray, city, and rayon party, soviet, economic, trade union, and Komsomol organs have failed to organize an effective struggle to fulfill the plans for housing and cultural construction. Many citizens need well appointed housing.

The provision of kindergarten and creche places for children also remains an acute problem. The network of maternity homes and specialized children's hospitals is poorly developed. A substantial proportion of clubs and cultural centers are in a dilapidated state. The network of trade, public catering,

and consumer service enterprises falls substantially short of requirements. The working people's production and service amenities at many associations, enterprises, and organizations are unsatisfactory.

The CPSU Kraykom and the krayispolkom have failed to adopt exhaustive measures to improve the supply of food products to the population on the basis of the maximum utilization of local reserves. The production of livestock products on citizen's personal plots has decreased. One in three production enterprises does not have its own subsidiary farms.

Trade, consumer, and medical service are lagging behind the working people's requirements. In some places, primarily in newly opened up and rural areas, there are interruptions in the sale of an adequate range of goods and the standard of services is low. The population's demand for many types of paid services is not being met. One-third of industrial enterprises still do not produce consumer goods.

Underestimation of the human factor, poor organization of people's lives and amenities, and inattention to working people's daily needs and requirements lead to increased migration of the population and cadre turnover and make it difficult to form stable labor collectives. A particularly unfavorable situation has developed at Kansk-achinsk Fuel and Energy Complex projects, the Sayanskiy territorial-production complex, and at timber industry enterprises.

The resolution notes that efforts to overcome the major shortcomings in socio-economic development are being held up by the serious lag in the construction complex. The relevant ministries, the party kraykom, and the krayispolkom have failed to adopt timely and decisive measures to expand construction organizations' capacities and reconstruct their production base. The volume of work carried out by the main organizations remained static over the years of the last 5-year plan.

The CPSU Central Committee drew the attention of the Krasnoyarsk CPSU Kraykom and its First Secretary Comrade P.S. Fedirko and the krayispolkom and its Chairman Comrade V.V. Plisov to the serious mistakes and shortcomings in the leadership of party, soviet, trade union, and economic organs in the improvement of working people's social conditions and amenities.

The CPSU Central Committee instructs the party kraykom, party committees, local soviet ispolkoms, and trade union and Komsomol organs to radically change their attitude to the development of the social sphere. Supervision of the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on the comprehensive development of the kray's productive forces is to be intensified. Measures to create proper social conditions and amenities for working people are to be implemented as a decisive factor in achieving a radical breakthrough in enhancing production efficiency and achieving the all-around development of the individual.

On the basis of the accelerated development of the social sphere the unjustified migration and turnover of cadres is to be consistently and persistently reduced and the formation of stable, highly organized labor collectives and a substantial increase in the return on the existing powerful production potential is to be ensured. Labor collectives must be mobilized for resolute efforts to overcome the lag in implementing social tasks, ensure the unconditional fulfillment of plan targets, and substantially increase the volume of the construction of housing and social, consumer service, and environmental protection projects, especially in areas of active economic development. The integrated and balanced development of both the production and the social sphere must be ensured.

The party and soviet organs and economic managers must disseminate more widely the initiatives of the collectives of the Gorkiy Motor Vehicle Plant and Volga Motor Vehicle Plant and the experience of their own leading enterprises in utilizing additional potential for the accelerated solution of social problems, including wider use by enterprises and associations of the own-resources method in the construction of housing and sociocultural projects and the involvement of labor collectives in the construction of young people's housing complexes and the provision of amenities in cities and population centers.

The need is emphasized to enhance the responsibility of local soviets for the comprehensive economic and social development of the territories under their jurisdiction, the quality of construction and improvement of the architectural design of cities, worker settlements, and villages, and the establishment of strict order in the commissioning of houses and other projects. It is necessary to widely involve standing commissions and individual deputies and groups of deputies in this work. Any attempts on the part of economic managers to exclude the construction of sociocultural and municipal service projects from the plans must be resolutely stemmed. Special attention must be paid to coordinating the work of enterprises and organizations, irrespective of what department they come under, in constructing social and consumer service infrastructure projects and improving use of the environment.

The CPSU Central Committee instructed the party kraykom and the krayispolkom to draw up and implement additional measures to substantially improve supplies of food products to the population via the utilization of local resources: increasing production of agricultural output on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, the population's personal plots, and enterprises' subsidiary farms and expanding the production and procurement activities of consumer cooperatives. Fuller satisfaction of the population's demand for goods and paid services and a radical improvement of trade, medical, cultural, and consumer services and of the organization of public catering must be achieved.

The CPSU Central Committee instructed the CPSU Kraykom and party gorkoms and raykoms to enhance the standard of organizational and political work in labor collectives in the service sphere. Leading posts must be staffed with enterprising and competent cadres. Their efforts must be focused on the efficient utilization, retooling, and modernization of the existing material base, on enhancing labor quality, and on improving the housing conditions, amenities, leisure, and moral education of the workers in this sphere.

The USSR Gosplan is instructed, jointly with the ministries and departments in charge of the development of the Krasnoyarsk Kray's mineral and raw material resources, to define the ratio between the funds allocated for production and nonproduction construction with a view to ensuring that the development of the social sphere ensures the timely commissioning and effective utilization of production capacities.

Note was taken of the impermissible sluggishness in expanding construction and installation organization capacities shown by the USSR Ministry of Construction for Areas of the Urals and Western Siberia, the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, and other ministries taking part in the development of the kray's productive forces.

Contract construction ministries operating in the kray and the krayispolkom must eliminate the lag which has built up in the development of the base of the construction industry and the construction material industry and adopt measures to improve the utilization of existing capacities, ensure the harmonious work of labor collectives employed in this sphere, and sharply reduce cadres turnover and losses of worktime. The necessary production conditions and amenities must be created for two-shift working and labor collectives must be stabilized.

It is deemed essential that the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of Construction for Areas of the Urals and Western Siberia, and other ministries and departments adopt effective measures to achieve by the end of the 12th 5-Year Plan the normative level in the provision of the kray's working people with trade, public catering, and consumer service enterprises, especially in new construction areas.

The attention of the party committees of the appropriate ministries and departments is drawn to the need to step up supervision of the work of the central apparatus to implement the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on the comprehensive development of Krasnoyarsk Kray's productive forces and the improvement of the working people's social conditions and amenities.

Union republic communist party central committees, party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations are instructed to thoroughly analyze the situation in the social and consumer service sphere and to adopt specific measures to ensure its successful development. The responsibility of leaders for creating conditions for working people's highly productive labor, healthy life, and full leisure must be enhanced. Social problems must be resolved on a broad democratic basis, relying on the opinion of the working people's organs of self-administration, and the principles of social justice must be actively implemented.

The mass media--press, television, and radio--are instructed to show in detail the activity of party, soviet, trade union, and economic organs to improve the working people's social conditions and amenities. Leaders who fail to ensure the fulfillment of the plans for social development just be sharply criticized.

/7358

CSO: 1800/342

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

LATVIAN PAPER REPORTS PUGO'S PLENUM SPEECH

Riga CINA in Latvian 28 Nov 86 pp 1,2

[Excerpts] 1. Informative Announcement

On a Plenum of the CP of Latvia Central Committee

A plenum of the CP of the Latvian Central Committee took place on 27th November in Riga.

(MN: passage on the question under discussion, Pugo's report on it, debate and resolution omitted).

Information "On the state of discipline among the communists of the republic's Party organization" was given by G. Loskutov, head of the department of Party organizational work of the CP of Latvia Central Committee. A resolution was adopted on this question.

2. Report by B. Pugo, First Secretary of the CP of Latvia Central Committee, on the tasks to be carried out by the republic's Party organization in order to radically improve production and work quality, to increase the competition ability of products, relying on a widespread introduction of the achievements of science and technology into national economy in accordance with the demands of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, and to get ready for the introduction of State acceptance at associations and enterprises, at the plenum of CP of Latvia Central Committee.

The Party organizations and collectives of our enterprises and organizations are engaged already for the third five-year period with the introduction of systems of ensuring production quality at all levels. The summary result of this work is such that in our country as a whole the republic has occupied quite good positions for the output of products certified with the sign of quality. The share of these products in the total volume of the production under certification is at present 56.3 percent.

The achieved level does not, however, correspond to the present-day requirements, to the increasing needs of the national economy and Soviet people. The main factor which does not allow the cardinal improvement of quality and competitiveness of the more important products is the extraordinarily slow

tempo of scientific/technical progress, outdated production assets, breaches of technological and labour discipline, orienteering towards backward analogues. The blame for this lies, first of all, with the Council of Ministers, State Planning Committee, ministries and departments, with all the economic heads of the republic, and, without doubt, with the Central Committee bureau and secretariat, and its departments.

This year the quality sign was taken away from 17 of our product types, including minibuses, diesels, corduroy materials, and furniture. The index "N" has been taken away from 77 various products. Analysis shows that more than two-thirds of highest quality category product types went into production more than five years ago, and the remainder--10 or more years ago, despite the fact that the normative product renewal periods are 3-5 years. Even this year out of the 23 newly-put-into-production products under certification only 11 products, namely, less than half, were awarded the highest quality category.

Also everyday-life radio apparatuses' technical specifications planned at the VED and "Radiotekhnika" associations for 1990 have to be seriously corrected. These correspond to the present, but not to tomorrow's parameters of foreign analogues. The republic's industry has not reached the level of production of products certified as envisaged in the plan. In Riga, Ventspils and Jelgava, in Valmiera, Jekabpils and Saldus rayons a reduction of output of production and technical manufactured articles certified with the quality sign and also of consumer goods has been permitted. Tasks of the plan, as a whole, have not been fulfilled by more than one-quarter of enterprises. An especially great lagging behind has been permitted at the Chemical fibre production association (director J. Ambainis, Party committee secretary J. Drobovs), the Technical appliance scientific production association (E. Krukovskis, V. Yevtushenko), the Minibus works (Y. Merkulov, N. Zamyatin), the Fire-fighting appliance works (G. Lasmanis, A. Vilnis) and the "Ventspils Koks" combine (former director A. Mintals, Party bureau secretary A. Pirozhkova).

For example, the Leningradas rayon (rayon committee's first secretary V. Brokans), which in 1985 had in Riga and in the entire republic the biggest share of production awarded the quality sign of the amount of the products under certification--70.3 percent, has permitted this year its reduction to 60 percent.

Inspections conducted by State supervision show that at almost two-thirds of the enterprises inspected this year the normative technical documentation regulations are transgressed against. A third of the products made do not correspond with the standards. It was not allowed to market 559 various products, which did not correspond with standards, worth approximately R4,000,000. For supplying poor quality products economic sanctions for a total amount of more than R15,000,00 have been used against 193 enterprises. These have increased, in comparison with the same period last year, i.e., with the time before the adoption of the "Quality-90" programme, almost two times.

The question on the unsatisfactory quality of minibuses was examined at its meeting in April of this year by the CP of Latvia Central Committee bureau. Today we have the right to ask frankly the works' managers, communists Y. Merkulov, N. Zamyatin and V. Barkovskis: How long will they keep promising to change radically the situation in production?

The quality of consumer goods is still not stable. At the enterprises of the Ministry of Light Industry (Minister V. Nizhnik) a tendency to diminish the share of especially modern and marked-with-the-"N"-index products has become apparent since the beginning of the year. This applies to linen materials, knitted fabric underwear, socks, leather footwear. Production quality of the enterprises of the Ministry of Timber Processing and Paper Industry (Minister V. Birkenfelds) has become worse.

One glaring example: at the RER association (chief engineer R. Oganessian, Party committee secretary E. Boss) all the batches of the inspected "Riga-17" washing machines had to be declared defective, despite the fact that this product has been awarded the quality sign.

Is it then normal that of the 64 Union-subordinated enterprises 41 enterprises, and of the 23 Union-republican and republican ministries and departments 16 ministries and departments have planned for 1986 a slower development tempo of consumer goods production and services sphere than envisaged in the official comprehensive programme.

In the republic as a whole, on the other hand, the output of the third 10-day period of a month equals approximately 43 percent of production!

How long shall we maintain in the economy a situation where people live side-by-side who work conscientiously and manufacture high quality production and those who produce who knows what? The time has come firmly to demand responsibility--both morally and materially--from producers of defective products, from all who have a negligent attitude towards their duties. Can one then still continue to tolerate such a situation where only 10 percent of the bonus fund is used for furthering quality, and the remaining 90 percent is spent for stimulating quantity? Everything must be precisely the other way around.

In our republic State acceptance is being introduced at 30 enterprises at which 26 percent of all people employed in industry are working. Are we ready for it? No, we are not yet. In connection with deviations of quality, dispatch of completed products had been stopped at the "Radiotekhnika" and "Alfa" associations, at the RAF works.

Here the mobilizing role of Party committees must manifest itself to the full extent. One must not, of course, fall into the other extreme--engage in administering, give the State acceptance organs unnecessary advice, as for example, to tell them "you are responsible for the plan," as was done by the first secretary of the Proletariat rayon (of the city of Riga) committee of the Party, F. Korneliuss, although nobody has charged the State acceptance with the duty of being responsible for the plan.

With 10 November the new work schedule has been introduced in 18 enterprises of Riga, but the obsolete machine tools and mechanisms have not yet become released and are not being written off. Why?

For example, the scientists of our university have developed a slide cold-welding method, which can be widely used for joining various conduits and pipes. This method is simple and safe, it produces a greater effect than foreign analogues. It has been patented in the FRG, Denmark and the USA. In 1983 it was introduced on Donetsk railway and a great economic effect was obtained. But in our republic, because of conservatism of some economy workers and departmental formalism, this progressive innovation is not being actually utilized anywhere. There are many such examples. Is this then normal?

The Government and the State Planning Committee must more operatively support interesting and prospective forms of integration of science and production and inter-branch cooperation, must more strictly demand responsibility from concrete culprits of bureaucratism and formalism. Unfortunately, even at present our State and economic organs at times tolerate inexcusable slowness, inconsistency and bureaucratism in these questions.

At the inspections of the services of the State Committee of Construction Affairs serious deviations with regard to quality have been ascertained in the construction of the second stage of the Liepaja combined fodder factory, whose general contractor is the Liepaja trust (administrator V. Antsignin, Party committee secretary J. Antons), and in the construction of the Valmiera meat combine, whose general contractor is the Cesis trust (administrator J. Herbsts, Party bureau secretary D. Strauta).

Special attention was paid to the quality of mass-scale construction of housing buildings, with regard to whose standard we are greatly lagging behind our neighbours in the Baltic republics and Belorussia. The Riga big-panel house construction trust (administrator I. Bargarum, Party committee secretary G. Petrov) hands over more than one-third of their objects with poor quality.

Within the shortest time one of the main causes of defective work--utilization of poor quality construction materials and construction components--has to be eliminated. This year 48 types of components, products and materials have been inspected at 16 enterprises of the Ministry of Construction Materials Industry. Half of them do not correspond to the standards.

Also the poor quality of road construction and repair was noted. In Riga, Daugavpils, Liepaja and other towns tens of streets and pavements are in a very bad state.

Concern is caused by the repair and maintenance quality of transport rolling stock and other technical means. Big shortcomings in the activity of the administration of the Baltic Railway (head I. Yemets, Party committee secretary V. Kovalev) were spoken about. The Central Committee bureau recently analysed the work of the railway managers and administration apparatus' Party committee in guaranteeing train service safety and judged it unsatisfactory.

The railway's head, his deputies and Party committee secretary received strict Party punishments. They have to draw appropriate conclusions, have to improve at the very foundations the quality of their entire work.

At agricultural base organizations services for standardization and ensuring of production and work quality have not been actually created. At the scientific research institutes of land cultivation and agricultural economy and also of animal husbandry and veterinary science this work is being carried out by one or two scientific workers.

Stricter demands have to be exacted also from the chairmen of the executive committees of town and rayon soviets of people's deputies. The time has come to shake some of them up, otherwise they have somehow become accustomed to unsolved problems, and no longer care about them or about the social development of the town or rayon. Tackling social questions is now a very important duty of the soviets, an examination of their political maturity.

At present only the stereotype emblem connects some works of journalists with the "Quality-90" programme. This is impermissible.

All our leading cadres have to be compelled personally and seriously to take care of strengthening discipline and organization, because precisely with this, to tell the truth, the quality of any job begins. They have to be charged with the duty to show more initiative and strictness in combating drunkenness and alcoholism. Lately our efforts in this direction have, without doubt, become slack. This is shown by the number of crimes committed in a state of intoxication, which are not diminishing, but are stably maintained at a high level, especially in Kraslava, Rezekne, Madona, Dobeles and Preiļi rayons. The present situation causes serious concern and demands serious undertakings. It is important perpetually to bear in mind that in this sector one must not allow any relaxation. To us discipline and order is the No.1 task.

The time has come to give an assessment to the work accomplished in the post-congress period personally by every leader--Party, soviets' and economic leaders, beginning with the minister and ending with a production shop, section or department head, and after that the appropriate conclusions have to be drawn. We cannot tolerate, and we, of course, shall not tolerate time working in favour of those persons who again want to lead us into the quagmire of dozing, to lead on to the trodden road of irresponsibility. The action of every leader has to be assessed with a demanding approach.

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CSO: 1808/27

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

TSENTROSOYUZ CHAIRMAN TRUNOV VISITS GEORGIAN COOPERATIVES

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 Nov 86 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "Consumer Cooperatives: Tasks of Reconstruction"]

[Text] M. P. Trunov, a member of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the board of Tsentrosoyuz, and vice president of the International Cooperative Union, has turned up in the republic. He visited a number of the enterprises in the system of Tsekavshiri [Georgian SSR Union of Consumer Societies], talked with workers and office personnel, and took interest in the conditions of their work and daily life. He was accompanied by O. E. Cherkeziya, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers; G.N.Yenukidze, secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee; and E. E. Kapba, a department head of the Georgian CP Central Committee.

The guest began his stay in the republic with a visit to the diversified industry combine of the Gruzkooprom administration. The industry produces more than 20 brands of consumer goods. Among the products in demand among the rural population are sewn goods, haberdashery, goods of natural and artificial fur, and headgear. The collective combine was advised to be more concerned to ensure proper quality and renewal of their assortment.

A high evaluation was given to the Teletskiy industrial complex, where subsidiary farming is located in the Palace of Victory. Here, the output of a broad array of private production is organized, cattle and poultry are kept, and waste-free production is set up. The successful experience of the complex deserves to be drawn upon and disseminated not only in the republic but in the country. After visiting the Teletskiy department store and inspecting the store "Vash dom" of Gardabanskiy Rayon's consumer union, the recommendation was made that Tsekavshiri develop similar facilities in other regions of the republic.

In recent years the material and technical base of the Marneulskiy Rayon consumer union has been considerably strengthened. With the aid of party and soviet organs Tsekavshiri has opened here an up-to-date enterprise whose trading activity has been organized at a high level. The guest assured himself of this by familiarizing himself with the activity of the Marneulskiy trade center, the cooperative trading store, and the experimental-testing industrial combine.

M. P. Trunov became acquainted with the Rustavi receiving-and-procurement center, Tsekavshiri facilities in the collective farm markets of Tbilisi, and with the work of retail-trade and public catering enterprises located in the municipal museum of Mtskheta. He praised the construction of the new department store on the village of Igoyeti and inspected the retail trade fair in Gori.

A meeting with the collective of the Tsekavshiri system was held, attended by comrades D.I. Patiashvili, G.N. Yenukidze, O. Ye. Cherkeziya, and senior workers of the Georgian CP Central Committee and Tsentrosoyuz.

M. P. Trunov emphasized in his address that Tsekavshiri should undertake a thorough reconstruction of the entire trading process, look for new reserves in overhead expenses, take measures to prevent interruptions in the sale of goods in daily demand, and skillfully exploit opportunities as they arise following the transfer to this organization of functions for the procurement of agricultural products among the population. In spite of a marked tendency for above-norm stocks to be reduced, much remains to be done in this direction. It is also essential to set up a reliable barrier to the penetration of low-quality products into the retail network, products which are not in public demand, and to assure that industry builds its production schedule on the basis of placed orders.

The decision was reached to take comprehensive measures to broaden further the functions of Tsekavshiri and to strengthen its material and technical base.

D. I. Patiashvili, secretary of the Georgian SSR CP Central Committee, also addressed the meeting.

12889

CSO: 1830/220

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

WORK OF GEORGIAN SUPREME SOVIET EXAMINED BY PRESIDIUM

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 Nov 86 p 3

[GRUZINFORM report: "Meeting of the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Republic Supreme Soviet at a meeting on 28 November examined questions regarding the conduct of the fourth session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The proposed agenda and work schedule for this session of the republic's highest government body was considered and approved.

The following information, provided by L. Ya. Khaburzaniya, vice chairman of the Planning and Budget Commission of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, was taken into consideration: that the Planning and Budget Commission and other permanent commissions of the Supreme Soviet have completed work on a preliminary review of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Georgian SSR in 1987 and the fulfilling of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Georgian SSR in 1986; they have reviewed the State Budget of the Georgian SSR for 1987 and a report of the completion of the State Budget of the Georgian SSR in 1985; and they have prepared pertinent conclusions for presentation to the Republic Supreme Soviet.

N. A. Popkhadze, chairman of the Commission for Legislative Proposals of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, informed the meeting of the completion by this commission and the Commission for Public Education and Culture of the Georgian SSR, together with the participation of interested state agencies and public work organizations, of a preliminary review of draft legislation by the Georgian SSR introducing changes in the Public Education Law of the Georgian SSR and other legislative acts of the Georgian SSR pertaining to basic reforms in general education and professional school training. After approving both legislative drafts, the Presidium adopted a resolution to introduce them for consideration by the fourth session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The question of submitting for the approval of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Ukases of the Presidium of the Republic Supreme Soviet passed between the third and fourth sessions of Georgia's highest government body was taken into consideration.

The Presidium then considered the work of the Mayakovskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies in increasing the role of labor collectives in the strengthening of labor and industrial discipline, the protection of socialist property, and the prevention of violations of the law in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 27th Congress of the Georgian Communist Party. After noting specific accomplishments, the participants at the meeting nevertheless stated that the work carried out by local agencies in this respect did not fully respond to present demands. The soviets of people's deputies, union and Komsomol organizations are slow in reconstructing the style and methods of their activities in compliance with the Law of Labor Collectives.

In a decree adopted by the Presidium the Mayakovskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies' ispolkom was instructed to take decisive measures to eliminate shortcomings, to do everything to prevent violations of law, and to increase the role of labor collectives in strengthening discipline and order everywhere and in all respects. Corresponding instructions have been given to the executive committees of rayon, urban, and urban rayon soviets of people's deputies in the republic.

The Presidium examined the question of citizen appeals, the practice of conducting public meetings, on-site hearings at labor collectives and in places of residence, and the "Open-Letter Day" in Zestafonskiy Rayon in accordance with the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress. After analyzing the situation, the participants at the meeting focused attention on existing shortcomings. The ispolkom of the rayon soviet was instructed to direct its entire activity to improving procedures of processing letters and receiving of citizens in strict compliance with party directives regarding the further extension in depth of socialist democracy.

At the session the Presidium decided to conduct one week of meetings from 15 December to 22 December of next year between deputies of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, and the voters.

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CSO: 1830/220

PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KOLBIN WRITES ON CADRE WORK IN ULYANOVSK OBLAST

AU030831 Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 1, January 1987
(signed to press 16 Dec 86) pp 11-19

[Article by G.V. Kolbin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, former first secretary of the Ulyanovsk Obkom, who has now been elected first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee: "Work With People: The Quest for New Approaches"---passages between slantlines published in small print]

[Text] The implementation of the course toward acceleration and toward achieving a qualitatively new state for our society is possible only provided that there is an enhancement of the labor and social vigor of Soviet people, that there are tangible changes in the moral-political climate, and that there is a restructuring of the psychology and thinking of cadres and an elimination of outdated stereotypes.

All this has brought to the fore the need to reconsider the essence of the work with people per se and to restructure the ideological activity of party organizations. The critical analysis of this sphere of party work that was made at the 27th CPSU Congress showed that stagnant phenomena had permeated it. Alienation from reality and from its real problems had doomed ideological-educational work to abstract educational activities and aimless verbiage and had sidetracked us from the pressing tasks of communist creation. This was manifested, in particular, in the overestimation of achievements, in the glorification of insignificant positive advances in the economy, in the propaganda of farfetched initiatives, and so on.

In other words, ideological activity lacked a depth of ideological-theoretical substance, the realities of public life and the increased spiritual requirements of the working people were not fully and accurately taken into account, and there was not enough truthfulness, conclusiveness, and concreteness. The substance of ideological-educational work cannot be something inflexible and unchangeable.

V.I. Lenin repeatedly stressed: It is important to comprehensively analyze the distinctive quality of every historical stage and, accordingly, to determine the direction of the ideological-political education of the working people.

The principle of a concrete historical approach was and remains the basis for organic ties between ideological-educational work and life and the practice of the revolutionary transformation of society. Moreover, life and concrete practice are becoming the main source and the motive force of ideological activity. The latter should not be understood as just acquiring a certain sum of knowledge of the principles of communist construction. Success in ideological-educational work and the shaping of ideological commitment are possible only on the basis of a fusion of knowledge, convictions, and actions.

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Ideological activity, as practice shows, is the most complicated sphere of party work. And all executives of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organs, without exception, must engage in it, not only those who work directly at ideological institutions. The task is to make the ideas of the 27th party congress understandable to every communist and working person and to foster in them a moral-psychological readiness to meet 5-year plan targets and to search for and implement such methods and possibilities that will help to solve practical problems more efficiently.

To elucidate and maintain party policy constantly, every day, and in all sectors, showing in the process a personal example in the approach to the task, and to teach the ability to restructure--this is the main thing for each communist. To ensure the unity of word and deed and to bring the substance of ideological-theoretical and educational activity closer to arousing in the Soviet person an organic requirement to work with initiative, qualitatively, with high productivity, and with the least expenditure of resources--this is the crucial task of party committees and organizations. We are striving to bring the assessment of ideological work as close as possible to what is called the end result. In the present case this is the practically proven communist consciousness of people.

Such a formulation of the question is also associated with the fact that for a long time in our oblast party organization, a distinction was drawn between "pure" ideologists and all other party and economic executives. Those classified as ideologists proper were the staff of departments of propaganda and of political education offices, the editorial staff of newspapers, television, and radio, the directors of political schools and seminars, agitators, and political information officers; that is, all those who, through words, motivate people to perform a certain activity. It was as if so-called pure ideologists were endowed with the right to lecture and criticize everyone else because they were losing touch with ideological work, not taking part in it. At the same time, the view was gradually asserted that fostering communist ideological commitment is only the domain of ideologists. This is undoubtedly a mistaken assertion. A situation in which knowledge becomes a conviction and conviction is embodied in practical actions can only be achieved given a pooling of the energies of all party, economic, and other executives.

Much also is to be done in refining the organization of party-political training. One of the basic troubles here is formalism. For a long time people were accustomed to working in this sphere according to targets from above:

How many and what kind of schools and seminars should be created, and what courses and topics should be studied. Now the CPSU Central Committee has pointed out the need to display creativity in the organization of political and economic training. In this regard, new tasks face the sectorial departments of the obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms, which must be active organizers of the political, economic, and vocational education of the working people and bear full responsibility for the state of training in the party organizations that they oversee.

The restructuring of political and economic training requires well thought-out and precisely organized work by propaganda and agitation departments and by political education houses and offices, which carry out the organizational, ideological-theoretical and procedural management of the system of Marxist-Leninist education. The upcoming work requires from them a higher level of competence and the ability to critically analyze and assess the state of political and economic training. Constant quests are needed for ways to solve arising problems, but our executives are not, unfortunately, always noted for this.

/Take, for instance, the decisions made by party organizations and committees on questions of ideological work. Many of them are still nonsubstantive and fruitless, do not entail any action, and are full of a certain gibberish--"to deepen," "to invigorate," and "to expand"--only arranged in different sequences. But there is little or no concrete, on-target, or opportunity-determining fulfillment of the projected plans of the party. After all, the point is not how many measures should be projected and when they should be carried out. The main thing is how various measures improve production and the moral-psychological climate in collectives and how they help to eliminate antisocial phenomena./

Practice shows that a major role in this regard is played by the open acknowledgment by executives of their errors and actions that are contrary to the norms of party life, which promotes the formation of a correct public opinion.

/For instance, in Veshkayskiy Rayon in recent years an intolerable situation developed of abuses by a number of executives in the sphere of the construction and allocation of housing. Letters and complaints from working people streamed into the obkom, the CPSU Central Committee, and other organs. It was proposed to rayon executives to openly report to the people at a gathering of citizens in the workers settlement of Veshkayma to explain instances of abuses and to say how the housing problem in the rayon would be solved.

/One must say that many executives, including the former Rayispolkom Chairman D.D. Mityagin, felt uncomfortable. And how could they vindicate themselves if questions of the allocation of housing were not examined at ispolkom meetings and were decided in secret. The signatures of ispolkom members were gathered "in the course of work" according to a decision prepared at the instruction of the ispolkom chairman.

/All this had led to crude violations of housing legislation and of social justice. The chairman of the rayon consumers society, the rayon's chief architect, the chief physician of the rayon hospital, the civil engineer of the rayon agro-industrial association, and certain other executives who did not need improved housing conditions had moved into detached houses.

/The meeting expressed distrust in these leaders. And the raykom plenum that was held the same day expelled D.D. Mityagin from the CPSU, while a session of the rayon soviet of people's deputies released him from his duties as ispolkom chairman. Organizational conclusions were also made concerning other senior officials. All this was published in the press./

Are these gatherings of citizens needed? Would not such facts of a frank acknowledgement of errors produce a desire in some to use them to tarnish our reality? Naturally, these occurred both to the organizers of the gathering and to many of its participants. And the view was the same: Frankness is necessary. A direct, and even at times unpleasant [nelitsepriyatnyy] conversation between executives and the people is needed. Truth is needed in the spirit of the decisions of the 27th party congress and in the spirit of restructuring and updating all spheres of our life.

If you are an honest executive--even if a thing is not quite turning out, but you are striving for it to turn out--people whom you are managing will understand the difficulties and you will have nothing to fear by appearing before them with a report. But if you use cunning, act shiftily, and abuse things, you do not, of course, want to report to people. It is clear that hushing up shortcomings damages the cause and undermines the authority of party and soviet organs. But the people will appreciate the truth. And there will be no false rumors. The gathering in Veshkayma ended with people from outlying areas voicing words of approval to the obkom and raykom for organizing the meeting and for launching a resolute struggle against all negative phenomena.

Stopping abuses and maintaining social justice are the most important conditions for strengthening the confidence of working people in party and soviet organs, and therefore, for an effective ideological-political impact on the masses.

And in this, it is difficult to overestimate the role of openness [glasnost] and of the mass information media that implement it. They are designed to be on the crest of the rapid wave of our life: Not to note its events, not just to inform about the changes occurring but, by reflecting in-depth currents, to reveal positive and negative trends, to submit them to the verdict of public opinion, to consolidate that which encourages movement forward, and to take apart everything that is unacceptable to our development.

The obkom considers the CPSU Central Committee requirement to intensify openness primarily as an intensification of the extent to which the working people are informed about the activities of party, soviet, and economic organs in all areas of restructuring.

/Under the permanent rubric "In the Obkom," the oblast newspaper ULYANOVSKAYA PRAVDA does not provide impassive informational material about the fact that a session of the obkom bureau or secretariat took place and that certain questions were examined, but reveals the very approaches to the problems of socioeconomic development and ideological work. We are not afraid to promulgate sharp and principled assessments of negative manifestations and incorrect actions by individual executives, including at the oblast level. We support the initiative of the editorial staff of the newspaper when it makes an analysis and a publicistic interpretation of facts and events on the basis of the materials of the bureau, secretariat, or party control commission./

This openness strengthens the confidence of the working people in party committees, produces in them a sense of involvement in the problems that are worrying the oblast party organization, and enhances their social vigor. But this also makes increased demands on editorial collectives, the professional skills of journalists, and on propaganda workers, who are called on to profoundly investigate issues of the theory and practice of party development and the principles and direction of the restructuring of the style and methods of party leadership and of all spheres of public life.

/Through the newspaper, the obkom strives to verify new ideas, undertakings, and approaches to certain problems that have been revealed in the oblast party organization with the help of public opinion. This gives rich food for new thought about ways to implement projected plans more efficiently and helps to assess more accurately the current moment and to precisely determine long-term actions. Items are provided under the rubric "For the Obkom Plenum." They analyze the substance of various measures and the practical work of party organizations and cadres in the sphere of preparations for the plenum. The rubric also presents analytical materials on subject matter drawn up in the editorial office itself. Thus, ways of solving pressing problems and of incorporating useful experience are suggested to party committees through the newspaper./

The obkom strives for every area in the work of the oblast party organization to be reflected in the mass information and propaganda media so that public opinion, which mobilizes the working people, is created around them.

The issues of providing food to the population, of accelerated construction of housing and medical institutions, of increasing the role of men in strengthening the family and bringing up children, of consolidating social justice, and of analyses of conflict situations in labor collectives--all these areas are comprehensively interpreted in special rubrics via the printed word, television, and radio. The obkom and other party committees make decisions according to comments in the press, radio, and television; pointed and principled assessments are given to those party committees and functionaries that do not react or treat criticism wrongly.

/Recently at the obkom bureau we severely corrected V.F. Tyamkin, first secretary of the Kuzovatskiy Raykom, who had a false picture of the role of the rayon newspaper. It happened that other senior officials of party committees also tried to stop the publication of critical materials in the press.

Such facts cannot fail to disturb, for this attests to the insufficiently high political culture of certain workers./

The party committee and its press organ must act in concert in solving the entire package of socioeconomic problems. We had a thorough talk about all this, about the tasks of the mass information media at the present stage, and about the party management of the press in September last year at a meeting between the members of the obkom bureau and journalists. The meeting gave rich material for thinking about the ways of refining the management of mass information and propaganda media. These materials were published, as they say, without embellishment, without smoothing out the rough edges.

One must say that it is precisely the press, radio, and television that today play the main role in shaping public opinion and in surgical intervention in the processes of social affairs with the aim of putting these processes on the necessary track.

/In this sphere the obkom attaches serious importance to the substance of the rubric "Public Opinion: Questions, Commentaries, and Ways of Resolution," which appears each week in ULYANOVSKAYA PRAVDA. The materials of this rubric frankly relate the problems worrying the population and the measures that are being taken by party and other administrative organs to eliminate shortcomings and the reasons for the dissatisfaction of a certain category of citizens with the resolution of certain issues. At the same time it provides explanations that prevent the spread of unsubstantiated rumors./

The party sets the task for mass information media to break away from a stereotyped and trite attitude toward reporting on our life and at the same time not to get carried away with sensations. Only systematic, thought-out, and conclusive coverage of the problems of our life has an effective ideological impact on people.

2

Increasing the demands on each member of our society in a working and moral aspect also complicates the resolution of the tasks of the educational process. After all, what is the social vigor that we are fighting for? It is an energetic attitude by a person toward the affairs of society and efforts by him to fulfill progressive and humanistic ideals that meet the interests of the working people.

Labor and social vigor are two categories of the same principle. They are closely interrelated. Of course, a display of heightened vigor in labor does not at the same time presume social vigor. A person may work vigorously, in the words of V.I. Lenin, only to "do his duty" and in the process not display heightened social vigor.

Our reality provides more than enough confirmation of this. The constant and steady rate of growth of the living standard of Soviet people produces among some of them materialism and a striving "to live in style," "to live it up" to the detriment of spiritual enrichment. These kinds of passions

give rise to increased requirements, which, moreover, often do not correspond to their actual contribution to creating national wealth.

Precisely these circumstances explain the corrupt phenomena that are encountered in our reality, such as economic accumulation and the endeavor of some people to satisfy their excessively inflated requirements at the expense of the state and of society by using their official position and to live according to the principle "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours."

The obligation and duty of party workers is to notice these phenomena, to expose the reasons that have engendered them, and to efficiently and competently determine countermeasures that would eliminate costs in ideological work and in the very essence of the educational process. Experience confirms that in resolving these difficult tasks, one needs assertiveness, persistence, and firmness of character for the sake of achieving the set goal. The obkom is seeking to conduct affairs precisely thus, by displaying every time an adherence to principle, by consistently finishing a task that has been begun, and by not stopping at half-measures.

/An example of this is the firm and consistent policy to improve the moral atmosphere in the Dimitrovgrad city party organization. As early as 1985, the obkom demanded that gorkom secretaries sharply raise the question about the need to eradicate favoritism, to strengthen party and state discipline, and that they themselves critically analyze the state of affairs, establish order, and properly give principled assessments to executives who had deviated from the norms of party life.

/But this was not enough. The gorkom, having decided to shrug off the requirements of the obkom by announcing a great number of penalties, but without identifying the main thing--the reasons that led to negative facts--restricted itself essentially to "selective adherence to principle." The obkom could not ignore this and be satisfied with the half-measures adopted locally, because this did not exclude the possibility of a repetition of such deviations from the norms of party morality. It was necessary to display character, to bring the matter to a logical and just resolution, and to make public an evil such as "selective adherence to principle." Only in this way could one complete the struggle against it in Dimitrovgrad and make its lessons instructive to other organizations, including oblast ones. That is why all the points in this issue were clearly stressed at the plenum of the Dimitrovgrad Gorkom. Leadership of the gorkom was strengthened and organizational conclusions were made concerning a number of party and economic executives that had tarnished their honor in the eyes of the working people./

The obkom is pursuing a firm line of increasing party exactingness toward the activities of city and rayon party committees and of the party committees and bureaus of party organizations, of enhancing the accountability of every communist, and of consolidating strictness in work and high mutual exactingness. At the same time, everything necessary is being done so as to help each worker to find himself within the new approaches. In those cases where this cannot be achieved, there is a replacement of cadres and a strengthening of this or that sector.

Acceleration decisively depends on how primary party organizations are operating. They are called on to develop their autonomy and aggressiveness, initiative, and creativity, to generate ideas, and to find concrete ways of embodying them. But practice shows that a transformation in thinking and actions in primary party organizations is taking place more slowly than one would like. If the gorkoms or raykoms are ensuring to a certain extent the fulfillment of increased requirements, the grass-roots component is noticeably lagging behind.

Therefore, particular attention is being paid to restructuring the activities of the grass-roots component, particularly the party one. An oblast meeting of the secretaries of primary party organizations has been held, and sectorial seminars have been organized for them as well. Their goal is to help clarify the essence of restructuring, to find the keys to it, to teach a logic of thinking and the skill to change approaches to matters themselves and to require this from others, and to suggest a choice of such means and methods that would be suited for accomplishing each individual task in every party organization. It is important to aim for each organization to strive to implement every line of the programmatic documents: issues of production activity, of social development, and of fostering in people lofty ideological and moral qualities.

We need to arrange matters in such a way that ideological support for the implementation of congress decisions helps to foster in workers in mass vocations a devotion to the task and promotes the strengthening of discipline and the attainment of high end results. Much is being undertaken so that the working people will more and more actively use the opportunities of socialist democracy and of participation in the management of production and of social affairs.

All our ideological work is aimed at ensuring fulfillment of the requirements of the 27th congress and serves to accomplish the tasks determined for each month, quarter, year and the entire 12th 5-Year Plan. And on the whole they consist of increasing the volume of production by 43 percent--this basically through the growth of labor productivity--of ensuring the output of all products at the level of the best world models, and of releasing as many workers as possible by widely introducing automatic rotary conveyor lines, flexible automated systems and processes, and other progressive equipment.

It is necessary to achieve new heights in the socialist competition to enhance labor productivity and the effectiveness and quality of work. A struggle has been launched to fulfill socialist pledges adopted in response to the CPSU Central Committee Appeal, "Inspired Creative Labor by the Soviet People for the 12th 5-Year Plan," as well as in support of the labor initiative by the mining and drilling brigades of Comrades V.M. Gvozdev, A.P. Potapov, and V.L. Sidoreyko, which has been approved by the Central Committee. The task of making th emovement for accelerating the increase in labor productivity a genuinely mass movement, of creating the necessary conditions for participants in the competition for this, of ensuring a precise organization of labor and engineering support, and of achieving active involvement in this work by every manager and engineering and technical worker is being accomplished.

A very important sphere of work with people comprises the problems associated with an efficient distribution of labor resources. We proceed on the basis that this is not only an economic and management problem but also an ideological one.

The CPSU Central Committee Report to the 27th party congress noted that complaints by economic managers about a lack of manpower are usually groundless. If one profoundly investigates the state of affairs, we do not have a shortage of manpower, but on the other hand there is a low level of labor productivity, insufficiently skillful organization of it, and ineffective incentives for workers.

Therefore, it should be a question of a judicious organization of work places, of putting in order the distribution of worker personnel, of identifying reserves, and of enhancing discipline and exactingness. And, as the party is a leading and guiding force for us, the oblast party organization is called on to play the role of coordinator in the matter of the efficient distribution of labor resources and of the economy of live labor. For this purpose coordinating councils for work with cadres have been created and are operating in the oblast: under the obkom and each party committee.

Cadres are not just people from among the "authorities." Cadres is a very wide-ranging concept. They include workers, kolkhoz members, engineering and technical workers, employees of various institutions, the creative intelligentsia, scientific workers, and party, soviet, and other executives. This is why one of the obkom plenums, having examined the issue of work with cadres, put to the fore the task of "teaching people to work with people."

It is a question of developing in managers of enterprises and organizations the ability to solve, under the guidance of party organs, the problem of staffing with cadres the collective entrusted to them. This skill is not acquired at birth, it has to be learned.

/For instance, we decided to teach cadres of organizers among party, soviet, and economic executives to consciously and skillfully manage the migratory process of manpower and the creation of stable collectives.

/It is no secret that outflow of manpower from rural areas has rapidly increased in the last decade. In the first 3 years of the last 5-year plan alone, 27,000 people left the immediate sphere of agricultural production in our oblast. The need arose to determine measures that would not only decelerate this process, but would reverse it. Remaining "in the hands of fate," and not being master of the situation in solving a problem such as the distribution of labor resources in keeping with the requirements of the national economy means violating its proportional development. Of course, all this can also be explained by the right of people to choose their vocation, but one cannot drift with the tide in this. Losing cadres in rural areas, we have begun sending them more and more from cities and industrial enterprises for temporary work in kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and in so doing have permitted major expenditures and an irrational use of them./

What is the issue here? The whole point is that the great achievement of October--granting broad rights and freedoms to citizens--must be combined with the interests of the socialist society that we have created and its dynamic and proportional development. Through the methods of ideological pressure, we are obliged to influence people's choice of vocation and of the sector of the national economy. The interests of the individual and society must be combined.

/Proceeding precisely on this basis, work is being done in our oblast to form stable labor collectives in industry, construction, and agricultural production. This is producing good results: Beginning with 1984, all the oblast's enterprises and construction organizations have been fully provided with labor resources. Given this, the outflow of manpower from rural areas has ceased. An increase has begun in the numbers of cadre workers in kolkhozes and sovkhoses: In 1984 they increased by 1,000 people, in 1985 by 4,000, and in 10 months of 1986 by 3,250 people. The changes are pleasing, but all this should be reinforced by active measures to resolve all social issues in rural areas and by creating conditions there for the harmonious development of the individual.

/After all, why did an active migration from rural areas begin in our oblast? Because we did not control this problem. Moreover, we "encouraged" this process to a certain extent. We were concerned with the construction of housing and cultural and consumer facilities in Ulyanovsk, Dimitrovgrad, and other cities and showed passiveness in resolving these issues in rural districts.

/The obkom fundamentally changed this approach. Up to 40 percent of capital investments is now channelled into social development in the oblast as a whole. New ways have been found to rapidly solve the housing problem: The task of providing with apartments--over the 12th 5-Year Plan--all those who joined the list before 1 April 1986 is being accomplished. Measures have been envisaged, calculated, and validated to consistently supply with housing all those who join the list today, taking into account the growing requirements for comfort and the expansion of the metric area per capita (from 7 to 15 square meters), over the subsequent 5-year plans through to the year 2000. In rural areas this task will be accomplished twice as fast, which should encourage not only the retention of rural cadres, but also an influx of labor resources into agricultural regions. Last year, for instance, many farms managed to build 18-20 apartments each./

In the restructuring that has begun in our country, it is necessary to pay particular attention to the labor upbringing of young people. The school reform being carried out in the country is aimed at raising the level of education and upbringing of young people and improving their training for working life. Everyone understands that the shift to universal vocational education entails work in one's own profession after completing school; that is, of young people having production experience is under way for entry into higher and secondary specialized educational institutions. For instance, every fourth freshman at the teaching institute began his working life at the workplace. Of freshmen at the agricultural institute, 27 percent are former workers in subdivisions of the agro-industrial complex./

Even the first results that have been achieved in a short time in the oblast indicate that these processes can be controlled.

Requiring acceleration and breakthroughs in everything--in thinking, conduct, and the organization of affairs--the party orients us not toward onetime but toward constant restructuring. Every innovation introduced, without fail, puts on the agenda the need for another, even more significant step forward. One must be ready for this; tardiness, expectancy, and verbal promises used as a blind are intolerable in this.

The complexity of accomplishing the tasks of restructuring all activity require with new force a consolidation of the Leninist style of work. The obkom constantly orients executive cadres toward a quest for forms of impact and approaches that will bring the greatest result in all spheres of public life and in improving the sociopsychological atmosphere in labor collectives.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KOLBIN CHAIRS MEETING OF KAZAKH CADRE PANEL

PM041425 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 87 p 1

[KAZTAG report under the rubric "In the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee": "Party Concern for the Stability of Labor Collectives"]

[Text] A session of the Coordination Council for Work With Cadres chaired by G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, was held on 22 January. Reports were heard from the chiefs of Central Committee departments on measures being taken to improve the stability of the republic's labor collectives.

It was noted that forming stable labor collectives is part of the systematic work now being actively conducted with cadres. A special role in this work is being played by party committees, which not only are expected to develop forms and methods of efficiently training, selecting, and placing cadres but must primarily ensure that a Leninist, class approach is taken to these problems. It is important that particular significance be given to ensuring that the number of workers and peasants trained corresponds to the ratio of nationalities within the republic.

The formation, development, and strengthening of labor collectives largely depends on the efficient, well-considered activity of economic leaders, which must have not only an economic effect but also a considerable political and ideological effect, and must contribute to creating a really businesslike atmosphere and healthy moral and psychological climate and to increasing people's creative activity and initiative. It is essential to enhance in every possible way leaders' personal responsibility for cadre turnover, the development of the social sphere, and the improvement of the working people's working, living, and leisure conditions. Moreover, we are not asking for reports on paper and a certain number of measures to be implemented--what we want as concrete results.

Every party organization must have a detailed program of action aimed at stabilizing its labor collective. Thorough analysis of every area of cadre work must form the basis of this program. A specific working person with a good idea of the state of affairs at his enterprise and ways of dealing with the shortage of manpower in the mass trades must be assigned to each of these areas, which can vary considerably from one another. They include work with school leavers, demobilized soldiers, and people aptly called "drifters" by other workers.

Data on the requirements of every profession must be accurately registered and, proceeding from this, the most reliable and effective way of making up the cadre shortage must be found.

It is essential that work to form stable labor collectives be thorough and comprehensive. With this aim in mind cadre coordination councils must be organized everywhere--in every party obkom, gorkom, and raykom in the republic.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KAZAKH CC ADMINISTRATOR OF AFFAIRS FIRED FOR ABUSES

PM131104 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 87 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "At the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee": "Dismissed"]

[Text] The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has dismissed Central Committee Administrator of Affairs A.G. Statenin from his post for abuses of his official position for selfish ends, in the form of group misappropriation of imported furniture as well as of establishing favoritism, and on this basis squandering housing and saving subordinates who had compromised themselves from being called to account.

It was established that in the course of an exhibition of Yugoslav furniture in Alma-Ata in 1981, group misappropriation of state material assets took place, organized by Statenin.

Using his official position and pursuing selfish personal goals, together with A.V. Lysyy, chief of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs economic administration, he distributed furnishings and other articles to a narrow circle of responsible officials in the absence of accounts or prices.

Such unlawful actions caused material loss to the state to the tune of R27,744, of which Statenin was responsible for R4,680. This entire sum was only paid in 4 years later, at the time of a document audit by the USSR Ministry of Finance. Nobody was punished for these criminally punishable actions, although in accordance with the requirements of the CPSU Statutes, the guilty communists should bear a dual responsibility--to the state and to the party.

Other abuses of official position on Statenin's part were also revealed. Thus, on the basis of letters signed by him three-room apartments were illegally allocated to the sister, registered in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, and to the son of D. Bekezhonov, former assistant to the first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

Statenin, who knew about the criminal actions of S.A. Shapoval, director of the truck depot of the Central Committee Administration of Affairs, and Ya.A. Tievlesov, director of the Central Committee Publishing House, saved them

from proceedings, and accepted T.T. Kaspakov, who had a past conviction, for the post of director of the Central Committee leisure home. Exceeding his functions, he gave instructions to the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs economic administration to release to the Kazakh Trade Unions Council equipment and furniture worth a total of R71,000 for the Sary-Agach sanatorium.

The buro instructed the primary party organization of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee apparatus to examine the question of party proceedings against A.G. Statenin.

In accordance with established procedure the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is instructed to resolve the question of the possibility of his activity as a deputy in the republic Supreme Soviet.

The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Party Control Commission is advised to take party proceedings against all the officials involved in the group misappropriation of imported furniture.

The Kazakh SSR Prosecutor's Office is instructed to examine the validity of orders issued for housing for Bekezhanov's relatives.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KAZAKH TRADE ABUSES LEAD TO DISCIPLINARY ACTION

PM131143 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 12 Feb 87 p 2

[Responses to a previous article from L. Davlatova, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, and A. Pavlenko, acting chairman of the Kazakh Potrebsoyuz Board, carried under the "SELSKAYA ZHIZN Followup" rubric: "Replies and Responses: 'Tea With Extras'"]

[Text] [Davletova] The questions raised in the satirical article "Tea With Extras" (4 January) have been examined at a session of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Buro. It was noted that the cases of breaches of the principles of Soviet trade in the Tselinograd Oblast Consumer Cooperative System, which had also spread into other oblasts of the republic, had indeed occurred.

It was noted that all officials guilty of unlawful actions and other antisocial offenses have had criminal, party, or administrative proceedings instituted against them.

The Central Committee Buro demanded that party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Trade, the Kazakh Potrebsoyuz, and other ministries and departments which possess a trade network draw up additional measures to eradicate breaches of trading rules.

The Central Committee Buro demanded an increase in the role and commitment of primary party organizations, local soviets, and people's control groups and posts in strengthening order and establishing the principles of social justice at every level of the sector. Organs of the prosecutor's office, the court, and militia were instructed to intensify the struggle against every kind of speculation, the practice of keeping goods in high demand under the counter, and acquisitiveness, and to step up preventive work in close liaison with the public.

[Pavlenko] On 9 January 1987 the satirical article and accounts of checkups were examined at a session of the Tselinograd Oblast Potrebsoyuz Board. The following chairmen of rayon potrebsoyuz boards--V.A. Mittelshtet, Atbasarskiy Rayon; A.I. Guzev, Marinovskiy Rayon; and V.G. Linnikov, Tselinogradskiy Rayon--were reprimanded.

T. Khalizova, a sales clerk, and N. Uzelman, acting chairman of the Atbasar City Potrebsoyuz, were fined by court organs R300 and R200 respectively. T. Khalizova was dismissed from her job and N. Uzelman demoted.

On 17 January the satirical article was examined at a session of the Kazakh Potrebsoyuz Board in which all oblast potrebsoyuz board chairmen participated. It severely censured Comrade V.M. Belimov, chairman of the Tselinograd Oblast Potrebsoyuz Board; Ye.I. Albatova, its deputy chairman; and chiefs of trade and monitoring and auditing administrations of the Kazakh Potrebsoyuz for lax monitoring of work to eliminate negative phenomena in trade. The satirical article has also been discussed by all oblast potrebsoyuz boards.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

KAZAKH KOMSOMOL WORK GUIDANCE CRITICIZED

PM120950 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee: Improving Party Leadership of the Komsomol"]

[Text] A conference of senior officials from the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Komsomol Central Committee, with the participation of a number of ministerial and departmental leaders, was held 5 February to examine the progress in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Party Leadership of the Komsomol and Enhancing Its Role in Young People's Communist Education" in close connection with the conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum on these questions. The conference was addressed by G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

It was noted that selection and placement of Komsomol cadres had improved somewhat, instances where young people who have not been tempered in labor collectives or who have not completed their work probation in their speciality are nominated for Komsomol work have been ruled out, and the party nucleus of the Komsomol has been strengthened. Young people are actively participating in the work of Soviet trade union organizations, people's control organs, and other social formations of working people. Young people of up to 30 years of age are extensively represented in the USSR and republic Supreme Soviets and in local soviets. Many questions of improving production efficiency are resolved with the direct participation of young men and women and their contribution to the implementation of major social programs--including the Housing and Food Programs--is growing. A huge army of mentors works with the young people and the most experienced communist propagandists are sent to the Komsomol political training system.

At the same time there has not yet been a substantial breakthrough in the leadership of the Komsomol by Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee departments, party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and primary party organizations. Many measures and plans are drawn up but no effective monitoring of their practical implementation is established.

The responsibility of local soviets, economic organs, trade unions, and other social organizations for educating young people and improving their working and

leisure conditions is still low. Party leaders rarely mix with young people. There are many cases of political and social immaturity among young people and of their lack of a firm civic stance. Many Komsomol committees, including the Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee, are restructuring only slowly and are mired in formalism and paper-pushing, and for certain people ostentation has become virtually a fundamental criterion.

Great attention at the conference was devoted to the international education of the younger generation. It was stressed that it is time actively to translate our positions on this question into practical action.

On questions of international communication, discussions on the priority attention to be devoted to one language or another are common. For Soviet people there is one criterion here--the Leninist approach to the problem, which recognizes bilingualism in national republics as a norm of life. It should be remembered that respecting a language means respecting a people. A great deal, for instance, is said about the need to study the Kazakh language, but things go no further--there are no good textbooks, dictionaries, or evening and extramural courses, and the problems of simultaneous translation have not been solved. It is necessary to find solutions which accord with the interests of people of different nationalities.

The party shows great concern for the youth press. The republic publishes newspapers and magazines in print runs of around 1,300,000. ARAY--"Dawn"--an illustrated sociopolitical and literary magazine, will begin publication this April. However, the Komsomol press lacks trenchant views on present-day youth problems, boldness in posing acute questions, ideological depth, and professionalism in its publications.

The CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum demands that obsolete approaches to youth education be revised and that democratic forms be studied and introduced into the work of Komsomol committees and organizations. This should be the daily concern of party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and primary party organizations.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

ALMA-ATA CONFERENCE URGES IMPROVEMENTS IN KOMSOMOL WORK

PMO41435 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 87 p 3

[Kaztag report: "Youth Education Must Be Highly Effective"]

[Text] Some young people do not aspire to creative work and cannot free themselves of consumerism, money grubbing, and materialism. Young men and women sometimes show political immaturity and infantilism. This was discussed by the participants in the 24 January Alma-Ata Oblast Komsomol conference. They strongly criticized the work done by the Kazakh Komsomol obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms relating to the labor, international, and patriotic education of young people.

The activity of many Komsomol youth collectives has been allowed to drift. The contribution made by young men and women to the resolution of housing and food problems and to rationalization and invention is clearly inadequate. Competitions of young lathe operators, mechanics, tractor drivers, and combine operators have not been held in the oblast for a long time and many valuable initiatives have been forgotten. There is not one equipped defense sports and health camp in any of the capital's rayons or the oblast as a whole.

Demands imbued with the spirit of the time that are made on Komsomol members are reflected in the new draft Komsomol Statute. It is essential, delegates said, that we radically change the forms and methods of work with young people, put an end to parasitism, and enhance the personal responsibility of Komsomol committees and primary organizations for the areas of work with which they are entrusted.

The conference was addressed by S. Abdrakhmanov, first secretary of the Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee, and M.S. Mendybayev, first secretary of the Alma-Ata Kazakh Communist Party Obkom.

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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

LETTER ON CRITICIZING PARTY RAYKOMS AROUSES CONTROVERSY

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 10, Oct 86 pp 55-56

[Letter from Vladimir Shcheblykin, CPSU member and response from the Division of Organized Social Work and Literacy under rubric: "Correspondence with Readers": "A Violation of Free Speech?" See USSR REPORT: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS for 18 July 1986 (UPS-86-034)]

[Text] [Letter] In ZHURNALIST (No. 4, 1986) under the rubric "Questions From Our Readers," you published an answer to the question, "May the departments of the party raykom be criticized in the rayon newspaper?"

Isn't it naive for a party member, as I hope the newspaper person posing this question is, to ask who may and who may not be criticized? After all this is set out in the CPSU Rules. Indeed, is it really a matter of party membership when the fate of such an important issue is being decided?

But what really astonished me was the answer. Its author writes: "Of course, the newspaper has no right to criticize the party raykom, its bureau, and secretaries, since, in the final analysis, it is under obligation to express the ideological position and point of view of the party committee as a whole." It would follow that, if a secretary were to act wrongly (or, as has been known to happen, even dishonorably), then a communist, who wrote to his rayon newspaper about this, hoping to secure justice, would be condemned from the start not to be heard. Wouldn't this be the case?

Thus, the author's answer clearly gives raykom secretaries special privileges, while the remaining party members are only allowed their opinions in "certain specified zones." Go on and criticize if you like, he seems to say, but only "what came before."

Well then, may divisions be criticized? "I think not," continues the author, "since this would mean identifying the party organization with the party committee itself, which would be a fundamental error." But the consultant himself, in the first paragraph, does this very thing, identifying the party committee with the party organization of the rayon and the CPSU as a whole.

But after all, haven't there been instances when the rayon committee has deviated from the right position? Indeed, there have been. Is it really your

opinion then, that readers may not state this directly and aloud in your paper?

Is this not a violation of the principle of openness? Doesn't it violate the principle of the party commitment of the press, which is charged with expressing public opinion (and not merely with shaping it)? In my opinion this is also an infringement of the principle of free speech.

I think that we must critically reevaluate whether newspapers are expressing the opinions of the secretaries, or of the party as a whole. This is even more important because our party is truly the party of the people. I demand that you publish this letter. After all haven't I too the right to express my point of view through this journal? If we judge by the principle of free speech and the press, one would have to conclude that I do.

[Reply] Dear comrade Shcheblykin!

In your comments on A. Masyagin's article you have confused several issues. After all, his reply did not deal with the right of every individual party member to criticize, as stipulated in the CPSU Rules, but with something entirely different: the prerogatives of the rayon newspaper -- the organ of the rayon party committee. I repeat, the reply dealt only with the rights of the rayon newspaper with respect to its publisher, the party raykom.

May a communist, or any citizen for that matter, criticize the raykom secretaries and raykom bureau? Of course he may, at meetings, conferences and in the press, but only in an oblast or central newspaper. Why? Because in the period between the plenary sessions of the raykom, it is the bureau which governs the rayon party organization. And between the meetings of the bureau this is the task of the secretaries elected by the plenum. And it follows from the principle of Party commitment, that the rayon newspaper must express the position of the bureau and those whom the plenary session has entrusted with performing the day-to-day supervision of the rayon party organization. How then can the paper criticize this position?

It is indeed true that "cases where the raykom has deviated from the right positions" do occur. For this reason, we must not even think about granting any kind of special privilege to, let us say, the raykom secretaries, nor about protecting them from deserved criticism or about violating the principle of openness. We need simply acknowledge that opportunities for openness are not limited to the pages of the rayon newspaper. There are many other opportunities for expressing that sort of criticism. Criticism addressed to the raykom secretary may indeed resound from the pages of the rayon paper, but only in a report on a rayon party conference or raykom plenary session, to which the secretary is accountable.

The editorial board explained this point of view to you in its letter. But you did not agree with it. "Why can't I, as a rank and file communist, use my own newspaper to criticize a secretary who, let us assume, has sent his chauffeur to the dairy to get him some butter which is not available in the stores?" you ask. This question is so trivial that it is embarrassing even to discuss it. And yet you want to carry on this discussion on the pages of the

oblast paper or write to the obkom? Why? Couldn't we manage to follow the principle of party commitment in the press, and yet not violate the general principles of the party, by settling these trivial problems among ourselves?

Judge for yourself if this issue is, as you yourself write, "trivial"; if this instance is not typical of the secretary, then is it really necessary to expose him in print, bringing this to the attention of all the inhabitants of the rayon? Wouldn't it be simpler to criticize the secretary in person or to apply to the bureau? If however a truly dishonorable man occupies this high post, then this becomes a matter of ideological importance and is completely appropriate for the oblast tribunal.

You propose that we "critically reevaluate whether our papers are expressing the opinions of the secretaries or of the party as a whole." By posing the question in this form you presuppose that these two opinions differ. If this were not the case, a question in this form becomes meaningless. If on one issue or another, the communists of a rayon all share the same point of view, then how can you draw the boundary and distinguish the opinion of a rank and file party member from the opinion of the secretary? And, more important, what good would it do? After all the party is an organization. Its primary cells are joined together to form the rayon organizations, the rayon organizations form oblast and republic organizations, and these, in turn, join together to form the unified Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Judge for yourself, could it exist as a harmonious union of like-minded individuals, if the opinions of the party leaders and the other members of the party were opposed on matters of principle? Recall that Lenin wrote on just this topic. Reread his "'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder."

"I am convinced," you write in your second letter, "that the rayon paper must be more than merely "the organ of the raykom and rayispolkom," as must the oblast paper at the oblast level. If we are to further strengthen democracy, then the paper must be the "organ of the party organization and people's deputies of the rayon."

You do not mention the central newspapers, so we will not speak of them either, even though when applied to them, it becomes particularly obvious how far-fetched your proposal really is. Just imagine what your proposal would actually entail in real life.

First, in order for a newspaper to be published, it is absolutely necessary that there be a publisher, i.e., someone who creates the paper, strictly speaking, in order to express a position and to promulgate this position to the readers. Could this be done somewhat differently? Could the "party organizations and people's deputies of the rayon," bypassing their elected organizations, the raykom and rayispolkom, fulfill the function of publisher, in other words, select the editorial staff, direct its work, and furnish it with the necessary production and economic resources? Who would do this? Everybody in turn? Surely, this cannot be taken seriously.

Secondly, as you well know, it would be beyond the capability of the "organ of the party organization," the newspaper, to provide a forum for every inhabitant of the rayon, or even just the communists, to express themselves.

Moreover, it is far from being the single vehicle for our citizens to express their wills. The voters express their wills in elections. The will of the majority of communists is reflected in the resolutions of the rayon party conference, which elects the raykom to put these resolutions into practice. The majority position, which the raykom and rayispolkom have been empowered to express, is voiced by their organ, the raykom paper.

It turns out that, when all is said and done, your proposal turns on a single point: granting the newspaper the right to express points of view differing from the position of its publishers. Is such a thing possible? Yes, it is possible, but it is important here to remember the principles of democratic centralism. Opposing points of views and disputes may be voiced within the party and, it follows naturally, in the party press, only up until the time when a decision has been made on the basis of a majority of votes. After this point, arguments must cease and the minority, along with everyone else, are obliged to implement the decision.

However, I repeat that there are cases where a party leader becomes alienated from the masses and acts incorrectly, and sometimes even dishonorably. In such cases, the newspaper, of course, must express the general party and not the departmental, local, or group point of view. Here the question is likely to arise of whether the newspaper will be able to propound the general party position and oppose the localism and narrow group interests, if it does not have the right to criticize the dishonorable leader.

This is no idle question. After all, such a leader could seriously obstruct the communists on the editorial board, passing off viewpoints dictated by his own self-interest as the party's. Here it is appropriate to invoke all the rights granted by the CPSU Rules. But, nevertheless, even in this case, the newspaper does not have the right to criticize the secretary or bureau of the party committee which publishes it [in its own pages]. Its criticism of them can be expressed in other publications.

You write that you demand that we publish your letter: "After all, haven't I too the right to express my point of view through this journal?" Having asked the question, you proceed to answer it yourself, "If we judge by the principle of freedom of speech and the press, "one would have to conclude that I do."

Permit us to answer this categorical demand by asking you a question. How many such letters from readers, which insist on publication, do you think the editors of newspapers and journals receive.

If we are talking about PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA and many other central newspapers, then each of them receives more than a thousand letters a day. The amount of mail our journal receives is of course substantially less. But it is published only once a month. Out of approximately 6,000 letters, every year we publish about 800. For this reason, the editors have been given the right to select material for publication. This is no simple matter; one needs to select the most interesting and topical material.

In addition, the editors must not contradict the principles inherent in the positions of those who have been entrusted with publishing the newspaper.

Every editorial board must have such a position. After all, a newspaper is not simply a dumping ground of divergent opinions. As you yourself know, far from everything that comes in the mail finds its way onto the pages of each issue. However, each editorial board is required to publish as many letters from readers as possible; this is its direct obligation.

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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

PARTY CONTROL OF LOCAL NEWSPAPERS CLARIFIED

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 10, Oct 86 p 54

[Letter from the staff members of the Soviet rayon newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, Dagestan, ASSR and response by A. Masyagin, consultant of the Division of Organizational and Party Work of the CPSU Central Committee; under the rubric: "A Reader Asks": "Who Is In Charge of the Raykom Newspaper?"]

[Text] [Letter] A dispute arose during an editorial meeting we had recently. Some of our journalists asserted that the work of the rayon paper is supervised by the CPSU raykom oversight committee; others that this is the personal responsibility of the raykom first secretary. We could not come to an agreement and thus request that you clarify the following issues: who precisely has the responsibility of supervising the work of the rayon newspapers; what exactly does the word "oversee" mean in this context; does the party raykom division of propaganda and agitation have a right to dictate to the editor and contributors; and, finally, is it true that the division of propaganda and agitation and the raykom secretary of ideology has the use of the newspaper's automobiles.

[Reply] We find the comrades' questions somewhat perplexing, since [the answers] are perfectly clear.

First, we will discuss supervision of the rayon newspaper. This, of course, is performed by the editor. He has full responsibility for the content and [ideological] tendencies of the paper, and the newspaper staff members are the major authors of its successes as well as of its failures. Thus, the notion that the day-to-day supervision of newspaper operations is something which can occur from without is mistaken.

However, this is not to say that the material published in the paper does not follow the raykom party line, nor that paper activities are not guided by this line. And from this point of view, it is the obligation of the party raykom first secretary and of the raykom bureau to endeavor to ensure that the policies of the party as a whole and the will of the rayon party organization, as expressed in the resolutions of the rayon conference, the raykom plenum, and its bureau, are reflected accurately and truly in the paper.

In practice this may occur in a number of ways (reports in the paper concerning the bureau, discussions between the raykom secretaries and the newspaper staff, points in the [raykom] resolutions specifically pertaining to the paper, etc.). However, there is one means to this end which may not occur: direct supervision of the newspaper, its staff, and contributors by any one at all. This is a matter of the internal life of the editorial board, as well as of the organization of the journalists' work. For example, it would, of course, be wrong if some individual suddenly began to monopolize the newspaper's car.

As for oversight of the paper, then, indeed, this is performed by the raykom secretary responsible for ideological issues and by the division of propaganda and agitation. "To oversee" means to constantly and carefully examine and analyze the contents of each issue, noting both the positive and the deviations, so as to furnish timely information about all this to the raykom bureau and its plenum, and to make their opinions on all these issues known to the editorial board. "To oversee" means to be constantly au courant with regard to the life of the newspaper staff and to the activities of the newspaper party organization, so as to influence them, just as all the other primary party organizations of the rayon are influenced.

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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

INCREASING PROFITABILITY OF LOCAL NEWSPAPERS

Alma Ata NARODNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO KAZAKHSTANA in Russian No 10, Oct 86 pp 34-36

[Article by V. Zhandauletov, chief the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade (KaSSR Goskomizdat) Department for the Periodical Press: "Local Newspapers -- the Path to Profitability"]

[Text] A total of 320 rayon and city newspapers are now being published in Kazakhstan. For the most part, they are presently losing money; only four city papers are turning a profit and one is managing without a state subsidy. The state is appropriating about 11 million rubles for publishing the others.

Experience shows that, by economical methods of organizing newspaper production, the profitability of even rayon and city papers can be raised on account of increased circulation, larger earnings from announcements and advertisements, and savings of in-house editorial resources.

Basic factors which have an influence on increased circulation of local newspapers are greater reader interest in their contents and improved quality in their printing. Closeness to the interests of the readers, critical quality, constructiveness, clarity of style, and freshness of form of the published materials -- all these together play a part in raising the prestige of press publications.

At the same time, of course, we cannot ignore the fact that readership composition and level are changing rapidly. The contemporary reader is more demanding and more inclined to be critical. Therefore, the model of the local newspaper which developed in the 1950's does not correspond to his ideal. This has been confirmed by meetings with readers, by questionnaires that have been sent out, and by seminars. According to these, readers are obtaining sufficient republic, national and international information from various other sources. Therefore, it makes sense to reduce the amount of this in rayon and city papers. Meanwhile, such information comprises 30-32 percent of textual materials in them. To the detriment of local reporting.

Rayon and city newspapers in the Ukraine, Moldavia and the Baltic republics are allocating not more than 10 percent of their space to materials that are reported in other channels of information and are presenting them in

abbreviated and simplified form. On the other hand, they are covering local topics -- the interrelationships between people, life styles, the family, school, the services sphere -- in considerably more detail and more interestingly. The local press of our republic should also follow this example.

The quality of local newspapers, of course, depends on the qualifications of editorial workers. Unfortunately, only about a third of them have higher education in journalism. Graduates of the journalism faculty at the Kazakh State University are being "assimilated" poorly in local areas. Of 195 persons assigned during the past 3 years, a total of 59 are now employed. At such rates, not even decades will suffice to staff editorial offices with qualified workers. There is one clear way out of the situation that has developed -- editorial collectives themselves must identify local young people who are inclined toward journalism and must organize their studies in this direction. These efforts, in our view, should be carried out via the Kazakh Union of Journalists.

The problem of training rural journalists could be solved by Karaganda State University, where it would pay to open a faculty of journalism.

KaSSR Goskomizdat has organized study by certain categories of local newspaper editorial workers in continuously running courses designed to improve their qualifications; included are executive secretaries, photographic reporters, and electronic engraving machine operators. But this, clearly, is not enough: more than 50 percent of the creative workers in local editorial offices are not participating at all in continuing education programs.

We must reach a situation where every creative worker in local editorial offices is temporarily assigned for practical training to oblast and republic newspapers. It is expedient to create groups of reviewers consisting of such workers, and to publish monthly surveys of the rayon papers aimed at illuminating specific problems.

The production level of rayon and city newspapers depends also upon their own writing staffs and upon strengthening their "reader-paper" ties. Therefore, each editorial office should conduct "open letter days", write-in press conferences, and mass investigative campaigns and should give encouragement to their best non-staff workers. These measures will also help to improve the prestige of the paper and to increase its circulation.

At the present time, 19 percent of newspaper readers in the Kazakh SSR read local newspapers. The situation is different in Estonia. There, rayon and city newspapers are published in large editions, in regions where they are distributed, and have attained a maximum readership of 87 percent of the population.

We must reach a point where every family subscribes to a rayon or city newspaper. In this case, the single-issue circulation of the local press will grow to 1,750,000 copies. This will mean a readership comprising 24.7 percent of the total population. Such an increase in circulation will be reflected in

increased profitability of the work of editorial offices; on this basis alone, state subsidies will be reduced by 1.5 million rubles.

At the present time, the average single-issue circulation of rayon newspapers in the republic comes to 3,910 copies, while the average circulation of city newspapers is 17,900. In order to pay their own way, local newspapers must have a circulation of about 20,000 copies, with modern publishing technology and earnings from announcements and advertisements. Incidentally, beginning in 1985, subscriptions to city and rayon newspapers have been accepted without limitation.

Interest in local newspapers has increased significantly with improved publication quality and, particularly, with the changeover to offset printing. At the beginning of the year, 39 rayon and city papers were being printed using this progressive method, and by the end of the five-year plan there will be 98. In the not-distant future, all city and rayon newspapers will be converted to offset printing.

The advantage of offset printing lies in the excellent quality with which text and illustrative materials are reproduced. The high type profile ensures good reproduction of half-tones and fine details, considerably increasing the informational value of photographs and drawings.

The offset method of printing makes possible wide use of photocomposition, which not only improves worker health safety conditions at printing enterprises, but also gives editorial offices new possibilities to reduce issue production times and to improve artistic and printing quality. Large-point photocomposition installations make it possible to produce a large variety of embellishments, points and outlines, and to insert textual and format material freely in the type page. When necessary, it is now possible to make use of the central strip between pages and to obtain additional newspaper area by reducing the upper, lower, and side margins. The use of photocomposition type faces increases type page capacity, as a result of which it has become possible to expand the area allotted to announcements and advertising materials.

In most cases, when producing newspapers using high-relief type, only one color is used. A second color is applied only in issues which fall on holidays. And headers for advertisements, editorial headlines and placards which are produced in color frequently are not printed evenly. Offset printing, however, greatly increases the quality of bright color impressions. True, it is not profitable economically to produce one or two papers using the new method. But if they are produced on a centralized basis, offset printing even affords noticeable savings. Thus, using the offset method to print 13 local newspapers at the Offset printing house of the Karaganda Production Association, savings came to 212,000 rubles a year.

Increased funds received from the population for publishing announcements are an important source for reducing losses. However, too little use is being made of this possibility at the present time. During 1985, earnings from announcements in the republic's rayon and city newspapers covered only 12 percent of state subsidies. However, this percentage can be increased: many

rayon newspaper editorial offices are taking in a maximum of 1,000 rubles annually from announcements. Many papers are also missing the chance to increase their income from film-hire and trade organization advertising, congratulatory messages, and change of address announcements, although the use of up to 3-4 columns on the 4th page has been authorized for announcements and advertising materials.

In Estonia, one-fourth of all the newspapers which appear thrice-weekly receive an average of up to 70,000 rubles in income from announcements and advertisements. But our own indicators are extremely low. Thus, in 1985, all the newspapers in Karaganda Oblast made only 85,000 rubles from this. Incidentally, following explanatory briefings of the oblast's journalists, the plan set for this year already calls for earnings of 200,000 rubles from announcements and advertisements in local newspapers.

More attention has begun to be given to offset composition of announcements, which has been reflected in the cost of newspapers. The editorial offices of TEMITAUSKKIY RABOCHIY and of ZA KOMMUNISTICHESKIY TRUD in Michurinskiy Rayon are now receiving not less than 1,000 rubles apiece for every attractively composed advertising type page.

Calculations made by KaSSR Goskomizdat show that local newspapers can be published on a centralized basis without subsidies when they have a circulation of not less than 12,000 copies and when their earnings from announcements reaches 30,000 rubles. Eighteen rayon newspapers will soon move over into the self-supporting category.

A good tradition has developed, in which the editorial offices of city and rayon newspapers are concluding contracts with Kaztorgreklama (Kazakh administration for commercial advertising) for the regular placement of materials in their papers. This ensures a planned "load" for the 4th type page; also, advertising materials in such cases are prepared earlier, which means they are of higher quality.

It is necessary to look on advertising and announcements as a way of satisfying people's public needs. Here is an example. In the Baltic republics, the relative share of announcements in the papers from private individuals amounts, on the average, to from 40 to 60 percent of their total. They accept congratulations in connection with weddings and anniversaries, announcements concerning the purchase and sale of articles and real estate and apartment exchanges, etc. for publication. Unfortunately, such announcements are rare in the local newspapers of Kazakhstan. Insufficient use is being made of possibilities for placement of advertisements and announcements of enterprises and organizations, in particular of local cooperatives, from the services sphere (about fairs, special sales of goods, the arrival of new articles, and available services), from the cultural life of the rayon and city, for sports events, the holding of holiday celebrations, about the acceptance of students in educational institutions, etc.

Incentives to increase earnings from announcements began to improve after the February 1985 passage of a new regulation concerning the editorial fund of city, okrug, combined, and rayon newspapers. Five percent of the earnings

from announcements are being assigned to this fund every quarter. On the basis of annual totals, allocations are made from above-plan profits in proportion to overfulfillment of the plan for earnings from announcements. The regulations also foresee the payment, according to annual totals, of one-time incentives of up to one month's salary to each person who has actively participated in work on the preparation and publication of these materials. Such a system permits all editorial offices, including those for whom state subsidies will be reduced, to increase the material incentives of employees for the publication of announcements.

Editorial offices are making far from complete use of their own internal sources. In Karaganda Oblast, where centralized publication of all rayon and city newspapers was instituted for the first time within the republic, editorial costs under the heading of "Other Expenditures" came to 129,700 rubles as against 76,000 rubles. In 1985, each editorial office paid more than 8,000 rubles for materials received from TASS and the Kazakh SSR Telegraph Agency, while less than 6,000 rubles were spent for this in 1980. And, indeed, a paper uses on the average less than 10 percent of such materials. Certain supplementary expenditures are explained by poor material and technical supply to editorial offices and by an absence of needed control on the part of oblast administrations for printing and publishing (oblpoligrafizdat).

Steps are planned to provide incentives to editorial offices which turn down state subsidies. If the profitability of the newspaper has been in large part achieved on account of earnings from announcements, then the additional 10 percent of the wage fund which is received may also be used to provide work incentives to employees who are participating in the organization and preparation of advertising materials. Within the limits of this supplement, an additional staff unit can be established -- especially for organizing and preparing advertising materials for publication.

In order to solve all the organizational and production problems that are connected with introducing new technology for producing newspapers and with the necessity to increase the profitability of the local press, the republic needs to establish periodical press subunits under each oblast administration for printing and publishing. Experience in this already exists in the Baltic republics, where the cost-accountable Periordika publishing houses have been created and are functioning successfully.

A concentration of effort will make it possible to consolidate the material and technical base, to improve the working and everyday living conditions of employees, and to create better financial and material conditions for the personnel of editorial offices.

Analysis of the financial and economic results of the work of editorial offices makes it possible to conclude that, with further improvement of their work, deficit-free production of newspapers can be achieved, as a whole, by 1995.

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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

TV COMMITTEE OFFICIAL DISCUSSES PROGRAM REVISION

LD312057 Moscow TASS in English 1709 GMT 31 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 31 TASS--More than one quarter of the programmes of Soviet television were replaced and the presentation of another 60 percent revised. Live programmes, dialogues with viewers and discussions feature more and more often. They reflect the process of reorganization, which altered considerably the Soviet TV scene in the recent period.

A deputy chairman of the State Committee of the USSR for Radio and TV Broadcasting, Leonid Kravchenko, believes that last year television was especially successful with programmes devoted to social and political issues. New series of programmes entitled "Problems, Quests, Solutions" and "Response," built on dialogue with viewers, evoked much interest. There were good live reports on the launchings of spaceships, and also reports from Chernobyl and from areas stricken by natural disasters.

More programmes were prepared in cooperation with well-known scientists, statesmen and public figures.

We attach much importance to TV links (Bridges), Kravchenko noted. They offer a unique opportunity to people from different countries with different social systems to "meet" and exchange views direct, without intermediaries. This year Soviet viewers will see six programmes with the participation of Soviet parliamentarians and U.S. congressmen, and TV links with India and Japan are being planned.

Entertainment remains one of the weakest spots of Soviet television, Kravchenko believes. He thinks that the situation can be improved, in particular, by introducing more of the best works of provincial studios into national programmes. For instance, a series of "Musical Ring" programmes, prepared by the Leningrad studio and shown on central television, were a success. Viewers see in the "ring" popular variety stars and discuss with them problems of contemporary music. It is far from always that the "stars" get the better hand of audiences. Plans are now being made to have a daily news and entertainment programme for young people.

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CSO: 1812/47

MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

TASS NOTES SOCIAL VALUE OF TV YOUTH PROGRAMS

LD031028 Moscow TASS in English 1006 GMT 3 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow 3 February TASS---Statistics show that the most popular programmes of the Soviet television are those of its youth service. Every month they take about 90 hours of broadcasting time, attracting every evening audiences of up to a hundred million. It is only running sport commentaries and VREMYA news-cases that can vie with the youth service in popularity.

The Soviet television has lately risen to a qualitatively new level. Although viewers continue criticizing these or other transmissions (especially entertaining programmes) one cannot fail to note an increased variety of genres and a greater show of imagination in the television programmes.

"People often speak of television as a thoughtless pastime. This is unfortunately true in some cases," Eduard Sagalayev, chief editor of the youth service, said in an interview with the APN news agency. "What we are trying to do with the help of television is to develop, inform and educate youth audiences while avoiding any didactics and challenging them to a dispute."

He mentioned as an example the "World and Youth" programme, an informative and publicistic journal consisting of a kaleidoscope of different video-subjects. But far from all people like this feature of the programme its editors are often reproached of "leaving subjects unfinished." This reaction is explained by Sagalayev by the fact that the viewer who is accustomed to being served with "chewed-up food" with an inevitable moral at the end wonders why the same issue of the journal includes two subjects "without comments" about "good" and "bad" young people.

Another popular programme is the "12th Floor" (where the youth service is housed). The programme is conducted by Sagalayev himself. It represents a referendum, so to say, with the viewers discussing questions of civic-mindedness and cultural interests. This programme is also a kind of school at which different generations learn to communicate with each other. Not infrequently the older people are shocked by the categorical, aggressive tone of younger people while the latter are very sensitive to any falseness in the "smooth" answers given by adult participants of the programme. The aim of the "12th Floor" is to teach young people to fight for their ideas by upholding them and not just breaking the old and building the new.

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CSO: 1812/59

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

CHIKIN ARGUES NEED FOR MORE DEMOCRATIZATION

PM281633 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Jan 87 First Edition p 1

[Valentin Chikin article: "'Continue the Democratization Policy'"--passages between slantlines published in italics]

[Text] On this memorial January day we invariably turn to Lenin's immortal behests to verify the aspirations of society and our own thoughts and actions. The content of today's dialogue with the reader is determined by the collection of excerpts from works by founders of communism which has just been published by the Political Literature Publishing House--"On Bourgeois and Socialist Democracy." Many pages of Lenin's works discuss the most topical problems of developing democracy.

Democracy perhaps more than any other process of revolution not only requires constant research and interpretation but also needs to be carefully, really tenderly cultivated in all forms of social life every single day. We must take into account the fact that democracy is a much used hobbyhorse of the bourgeoisie. The age of parliamentarism has produced countless examples of the mystification of freedom and countless methods of manipulating votes and opinion; it has clearly worked out when and which member of the ruling class, to cite Engels' profound observation, must represent and suppress the people in parliament. Moreover, while smashing bourgeois institutions, revolution inevitably passes through the stages of bitter class struggle where democracy feels quite uncomfortable. The kind of orgy indulged in by the abusers of the people's power could be predicted.

Nevertheless, on the morning after the revolution, so to speak, the Bolsheviks announced that the center of gravity in the democratization process would be /moving away from the formal recognition of freedoms (as had been the case under bourgeois parliamentarianism) and in the direction of real guarantees of these freedoms being enjoyed/. The new democracy can be boldly expressed, as Vladimir Ilich expressed it at the beginning of 1917, using the following equation: the democracy /that works is socialist, proletarian, communist democracy/. Philosophical debates have been held through the ages and will continue to be held on the question of /surmounting democracy/ in the future. Yes, when people /become accustomed/ to the public's elementary conditions being fulfilled without violence and without subordination and when even the need for state management fades away, the dialectics of living history will raise the issue of

democracy itself fading away. But on the threshold of a just society /democracy must be developed to the ultimate point, forms of this development must be sought and tested in practice, and so forth; all this is one of the integral tasks of the struggle for social revolution/. The /socialist nature/ of Soviet democracy is reflected in its exhaustive scope. Vladimir Ilich had to demonstrate more than once that /victorious socialism is impossible without full democracy/.

How does genuine democracy manifest itself?

First of all, in the direct /appointment by election of all authorities/, local and central. Rather than being guided by their representatives, the masses themselves begin building the entire state administration from grassroots level. A close link between the principles of direct election /and the professions and economic production units/--be it a plant, a farm in the countryside, or a cottage industry district--seemed highly useful to Vladimir Ilich in strengthening and developing Soviet power. /This close link makes it possible to carry out far-reaching socialist transformations/.

The principle of appointment by election is organically supplemented by /acknowledgement and fulfillment of the voters' right to recall the people they have elected/. Vladimir Ilich believed this to be a very important, /principled feature of real democracy/. In the very first month of Soviet power he himself draw up a draft decree on the right to recall, in which he stressed that any refusal to exercise this right, any delay in applying this right in practice, and any restriction of this right /would be a betrayal of democracy/. He considered it necessary to make a number of provisions in the draft so that /those elected should not be able, in the interests of carrying out their mandates, to oppose the people's right to recall their representatives./

Of course, the new type of democracy presupposed the abolition of all financial privileges legitimized by parliamentary practice. The people's power would remunerate the labor of its elected officials /not "like lords," not like the bourgeoisie, but as workers/.

Finally, the path to full democracy also lies in concentrating in the hands of the Soviets' legislative power and the power to oversee the execution of the law, as well as in giving all Soviet members the power to directly implement the law and all of the population's working people the power to fulfill the functions of legislation and management.

/While intended to be organs of management acting through the working people, the Soviets are in actual fact organs of management acting for the working people/.

Constantly strengthening ties with the masses---this is the main path followed by Soviet democracy. The Bolsheviks led the people to freedom and social revolution and laid firm foundations for these ites. They rid them of the deformations of old practice--of the lies and politicking, the group egoism and demagogic slyness. But ties between society's leading force and broad strata of the population, ties in time and space, so to speak, do not grow in strength of their own accord--a vast amount of effort is needed to reinforce

and augment them. Here we find the same party approach: from the formal /proclamation/ of the right to administer to real /guarantees/ of this right being exercised.

But just over 1,000 days after the October revolution, addressing miners' deputies, Vladimir Ilich formulated the question very realistically: /But does every worker really know how to manage the state?/ How many workers have actually done this? A few thousand throughout the whole of Russia? But we are talking about the involvement of millions. This is where communists, the leaders of the Soviets, must channel their energy. They must both teach and learn.

But for this to happen, responsible comrades /must live in the midst of working life, know it inside out, be able to unerringly determine on any issue and at any time the mood of the masses, their real needs, aspirations, and thoughts, be able to determine without a shadow of false idealization, the degree of their awareness and the strength of the influence of various prejudices and vestiges of the past, and be able to win the masses' infinite trust by their comradely attitude to them and considerate satisfaction of their needs/.

The teaching of state management must be practical not scholastic. We must be able to perceive the /healthy democratic sense in workers and peasants/ and trust it implicitly. The doors of local Soviets must be opened more widely to people who are socially active and have an organizational bent, and a hand must be extended to the shy and the unskillful. There are people who are intimidated, /morally downtradden/ by prejudice, tradition, and routine; there are people who are /indifferent/, who want to /remain aloof from bitter struggle, pass it by, or even hide (I don't want to get into trouble!)/. We must not ingorm people like this but resolve the vital issues that concern them, act openly in front of them, and involve them also. /All the people/ must be involved in state management.

We must not simply shut signs of democracy into a framework that never changes. Any steps on the way to management--/the more varied the better/--must be carefully recorded, studied, systematized, verified through recurring, broad experience, and then legitimized. In order to strengthen socialism we must /continue the policy of democratization/ until we reach our most important goal. And our goal is that every working person should fulfill his state duties unpaid, with the demise of the 8-hour "stint" of productive work.

While being clearly aware of the colossal potential inherent in socialist democracy, we will keep our feet firmly on the ground. /Soviet power, Vladimir Ilich noted, /is not some miraculous talisman. It does not immediately shake off the shortcomings of the past..../ Moreover, despite their unquestionable authority, the soviets can come up against obstacles which are not easily surmountable.

Bureaucracy must be acknowledged as virtually the most insidious of them all. The revolution overturned old bureaucratic practices. But bureaucracy immediately began to regain some of its positions, parasitizing on economic troubles, the fragmentation and poverty, and weakness and lack of standards of the

apparatus. And, of course, it was suited by that conservative egotistic policy which is guided by the rule: We look after our own interests, you look after yours! The bureaucratic plague found a particularly favorable medium in the organism of the Soviet apparatus. A determined enemy of democracy was reborn in the shape of the "sovbur" [soviet bureaucracy].

Another obstacle encountered by Soviet democracy is /the interests and prejudices of the local bureaucracy and local influences/. No, it is not a question of not trusting those at local level--on the contrary, it is desirable that they should be as independent as possible; Vladimir Ilich was always of the opinion that democracy must be built /from grassroots level, on the initiative of the masses themselves, and with their effective participation in all state life, without "supervision" from above, without officials/; local self-management must be free of the kind of supervision that says: If it is my wish I shall allow it, if not--I shall not. What we are talking about is the ill known as local favoritism, the possible distortion of basic concepts, general procedures, and unified legality to satisfy egoism, ambition, and so forth. Legality, for example, cannot be Kaluga legality or Kazan legality; there is only one legality--Soviet legality. We must firmly oppose any local encroachment on people's legitimate interests and practices; /oppose local influences, local bureaucracy, any bureaucracy/ with the force of the law and the authority of those organs which /establish all the basic concepts and all the basic rules for all of our party and Soviet work in the republic in general/.

Vladimir Ilich urged us to bravely look the truth in the face and see how often we act on impulses and without proper thought when resolving the fundamental issues of life. Our apparatus suffers from bureaucratic short-windedness--it has /swollen to more than twice its original size/ and often /does not work for us but against us/. It is a well known fact that in theory the Soviet apparatus is accessible to all the working people, but /in practice it is accessible to far from all of them/. And the law is not the impediment here....

Soviet laws are very good. They make it possible, as no other country does, to fight any social ill. But is this possibility made use of? Hardly! Why? Because not only workers and peasants, but /a vast number of communists do not know how to use Soviet laws in the struggle against red tape, bureaucracy, or the truly Russian phenomenon of bribe-taking/. Success in this struggle cannot be achieved /by propaganda alone, but only if the people themselves help/.

It will take years and years and /a great deal of work and skill/ to /rectify the numerous shortcomings present in the Soviet system and the entire system of management/. For this to happen we must also work tirelessly to develop democratic Soviet institutions. /There is nothing more stupid than turning the Soviets into something rigid and self-contained/.

And so, the justice of Soviet laws, their skillful use by the educated, cultured, organized masses, the ensuring of firm ties between the organs of power and the working people, and the flexibility and elasticity of these ties guarantee success in the transformation of our life and convincingly prove that our democracy and Soviet power are the /highest form of democracy/.

/12232

CSO: 1800/352

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

LEGAL SCHOLAR INTERVIEWED ON USSR ELECTORAL REFORM

PM021617 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Doctor of Legal Sciences B. Strashun, leading scientific staffer of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State Law, by journalist Yu. Feofanov under the rubric "Dialogues on Legal Themes": "What Electoral Procedure Should We Adopt;" date and place of interview not given; first graf is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Just like all political, economic, and social institutions, the electoral system should not be allowed to become ossified, it must not stand aside from the process of restructuring... This was said at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum which has just ended. It is quite understandable that scientists, soviet officials, deputies, and the entire electorate are wondering what amendments will be introduced, what electoral procedures we will adopt. This is the topic of an interview with Doctor of Legal Sciences B. Strashun, leading scientific staffer of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State Law by journalist Yu. Feofanov. Obviously, some of the views expressed by the two interlocutors are arguable, the scientist mentions a number of ideas to which people may object. Well, the topic cannot be exhausted in one interview and we hope to continue this dialogue.

[Feofanov] I have a letter in front of me which is characteristic of letters received with increasing frequency by the editorial office of late. I am convinced that now, after the Central Committee Plenum, there will be even more letters of this kind. They all contain the question: What electoral procedures will be adopted? Academics also have a role to play in this. However, recently I attended a scientific council where problems of democracy were being discussed. The need to improve the electoral system was also mentioned. Unfortunately, academics displayed great timidity in discussing this problem.

[Strashun] Scientific workers regard the problems of improving the Soviet electoral system as very topical now. These problems are being studied practically constantly and the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress have given a new impetus to research in this field. I cannot decide in advance what turn this discussion will take after the Central Committee Plenum. I can only speak about what has been happening in the recent past. Some people take the view that minor amendments to the existing system would be

sufficient. Others favor a radical reform which would mean changing the relevant constitutional provisions. And some people occupy positions which lie between these two extremes. This is only natural since what is at stake is of one of the most important institutions of our democracy.

[Feofanov] Probably the main question which interests readers is the number of candidates to be placed on the ballot sheet. Ye. Ushakov, a teacher from Chelyabinsk, takes the view, for instance, that if several candidates are put up for every deputy's post, this will truly stimulate people's activeness, and leaders, too, will experience a greater sense of responsibility. V.K. Shemyakin from Tolyatti agrees with this view. Incidentally, even now the laws relating to elections make provision for the nomination of several candidates. In the law the word "candidate" is always in the plural. For instance: "The okrug electoral commission is instructed to register ALL CANDIDATES nominated for a given electoral okrug..." (the emphasis is mine--Yu.F.). How has the rigid practice of nominating only one candidate developed?

[Strashun] The question is not that simple, as you will see. After all, no one expressly prohibited the nomination of a second candidate. However--"this is how things are." I will try to explain this. During the elections to a rural rayon it would, of course, be expedient to nominate one or more candidates in every okrug, even on the basis of existing legislation. People know each other and would have no difficulty in choosing the right person.

But take a large city, oblast, or republic. The population runs into hundreds of thousands or millions of people. Not to mention migration. City dwellers have lost day-to-day contact with each other, frequently they do not even know their neighbors in the same apartment block. How could you, in these conditions, propose to voters to nominate two or more candidates "off their own bat?" They do not even know one! How are they to choose between Ivanov and Petrov neither of whom they know if both of them are, naturally, given a positive write-up.

[Feofanov] Let us return to the phrase "this is how things are." Since a candidate is, as a rule, nominated by the labor collective, it is usually "the big three" [enterprise manager, party organization chief, and trade union organization chairman] who choose the candidate. A meeting is held, the candidate's agents address it. In principle anyone can reject a candidate and propose another, and so forth. That is to say, the form is observed, so to speak. Yet the voters are in no way involved. People go to the polling station, they drop the ballot sheets in the ballot boxes, but they have no idea who they are voting for.

[Strashun] This is one of the gravest contradictions of the existing electoral system. It has developed largely because of the social situation which I have described. Naturally, if two or more candidates are put forward in an electoral okrug, it can be assumed that voters will show greater interest in meeting them. However, let us consider the following points. Will all voters be able to attend these meetings? And even if they do, their impressions about the candidates will inevitably be superficial. For instance, a smooth talker is bound to make a better impression on people who do not

know him, although, you will agree, appearances can be deceptive. On the other hand, the nomination of candidates based on neighborhood units or areas presents practical difficulties precisely because of the lack of contact between city dwellers. The situation would be particularly complex in elections to oblast, kray, and supreme soviets. At the Central Committee Plenum the idea of larger electoral okrugs was aired. It is obvious that all procedural questions connected with this must be thoroughly thought out in order to avoid formalism.

So what is the solution? Naturally, I can only express my personal opinion. In my view, it would be expedient in elections to rayon, city, and city rayon soviets to elect some of the deputies to represent electoral okrugs based on production units and some of the deputies to represent electoral okrugs based on territorial units. The ratio between these two categories could be determined by the appropriate soviet bearing in mind local conditions. The electoral okrugs based on production units would basically be labor collectives which would put up candidates and elect deputies from their midst. The labor collectives themselves would decide how many candidates should be nominated, whether it be two, three, and so forth, and the nomination of candidates would present no difficulties to them since they would know them personally.

As for the election of deputies from neighborhood units, it would be more complicated, even under this option. The isolation of city dwellers would have to be overcome and for this purpose they would have to be brought together and organized into self-management collectives at their places of residence. For instance, the housing stock could be handed over for management to "tenants councils" as is the case in cooperative housing associations. The shared interests connected with the maintenance of housing and possibly with the independent solution of other social problems would create the need for communication. In addition to this there are party organizations at neighborhood units. In the process of dealing with collective interests, activists emerge and become known to the inhabitants of a housing block or a residential district. From among these activists it would not be difficult to nominate candidate deputies for the soviets. Under such a system labor and territorial collectives would become a social buttress of the soviets.

As for the oblast, kray, and supreme soviets, they should, in my opinion be elected by means of indirect elections. For instance, an oblast soviet would not be elected directly by citizens as is the case now, but by city and rayon soviet deputies. The number of candidates could exceed the number of deputy posts and in this way the principle of the secret ballot would be preserved. The main point is that people would elect candidates who are personally known to them.

[Feofanov] Indirect elections did exist in our country prior to 1936. True, only rural and city soviets were elected at that time, higher up the scale soviet congresses were convened regularly and they set up volost, district, province ispolkoms, and so forth which then functioned until the next congress. In 1936 the present system was introduced. Would not a return to indirect elections mean a loss of contact between voters and higher-level soviets?

Would this not be to the detriment of the democratic nature of the electoral system? After all the introduction of direct elections pursued the aim of ensuring direct contact between voters and deputies at all levels.

[Strashun] This was indeed the aim. But experience has shown that in practice it was not achieved. Under the conditions prevailing in our gigantic country it is difficult to ensure constant and close contact between higher-organ deputies and the electorate. Unless the deputies are major party, state, or public figures the majority of voters cannot know them. It is physically impossible for most of the deputies of the higher organs of power even to tour their electoral okrug, not to mention maintain informal contacts with their voters. The forms of contact which are feasible could also be maintained in the conditions of indirect elections. Incidentally, you have failed to mention that in the party and other social organizations leading organs are formed through indirect elections.

[Feofanov] In this context I would like to discuss the following situation. Let us assume that two candidates are put up for the rayon soviet: A raykom secretary, who is a worker, and an ispolkom chairman who is a kolkhoz member. Let us agree that both, the raykom secretary and the ispolkom chairman are excellent administrators and worthy people. However, they are very much in the public eye, many people have had to go to them with matters needing their attention, and it was not always possible to satisfy all of them. This could affect the outcome of the elections. An efficient man, much needed on the soviet might not get through because of this kind of personal motives. However, the elections are not a game, they are an important political and public matter. Could it not happen that because of personal grudges a less able man might be elected deputy?

[Strashun] There is no denying that there is much food for thought here. One thing is clear however--the elections to soviets must not be turned into "playing at democracy." True, the following situation cannot be ruled out either: If a worker candidate is standing against a raykom secretary who enjoys high prestige, the worker may refuse to stand because he considers the contest unequal. Let us not close our eyes to the fact either that it is possible to "organize work" in such a way that "conscientious" candidates "withdraw of their own accord" and we are back to square one. And there is another point: It is desirable to ensure that there are always at least two candidates.

But the answer, it seems to me, lies elsewhere. Too many deputy posts in our country are filled with leaders of various kinds. It has become a tradition that holders of official posts are predestined, so to speak, to become deputies. If they do not, it is regarded as damaging their prestige. Why is this? The 27th CPSU Congress reminded us that the post of deputy is not a supplement to another office. In my view we should give some thought to defining the incompatibility of certain leading posts in executive organs with the office of deputy. This would reinforce the accountability of executive organs and, more importantly, the accountability of specific officials to the soviets. This is especially important in the light of the views aired at the Central Committee Plenum to the effect that no executive organ must supplant an elective organ.

However, I have digressed. Let us assume that the "contest" is between a raykom secretary and a worker. Why not solve this problem in an "unorthodox" fashion? I would like to refer to a practice current in Hungary and Poland. The point is that there are candidates whose professional activities do not relate to an individual electoral okrug but to the country's territory as a whole. In Hungary and Poland top party and state leaders and public figures of nationwide importance run for parliament on the basis of so-called national lists rather than as representatives of individual electoral okrugs.

In the example you gave, the raykom secretary and ispolkom chairman are rayon-level functionaries. It seems to me that in some respects it is even unfair that the question of who should be elected deputy is resolved by only one electoral okrug. Perhaps it would be acceptable to draw up a short list of such people (numbering 4-6 people, say) who would stand for the rayon as a whole. In this case every voter would receive two ballot sheets, one with the names of candidates from a given electoral okrug where the deputies would have to be chosen from several candidates, and another sheet with the rayon list. As regards this list the voter could state his opinion without drawing a comparison with the other list. Since the ballot would be secret, the number of votes received by candidates would reveal how much prestige individual rayon leaders carry.

[Feofanov] I have visited Hungary and acquainted myself with the changes in the electoral system there. Among the questions I asked was to what an extent an election defeat affects the standing of a leader. This did not embarrass my interlocutors. For instance, an ispolkom chairman has stood against the director general of a production association in the elections to the National Assembly. The chairman won 51 percent of the votes, yet the director, even though he has lost, is working as before.

[Strashun] There is no need to get excited. There is a wide range of electoral systems in socialist countries at present. The prevailing trend is toward enhancing the role of collectives and of individual voters. In a number of countries indirect elections are used. Variants of this system are used in Hungary, China, and Cuba. In a number of countries laws stipulate that more candidates than there are deputy posts must be put up (this is the case in Hungary, Vietnam, China, Cuba, and Poland). In some countries this is practiced without a legislative basis (GDR). And there are countries where only one candidate per deputy post is put up despite the fact that the electoral laws permit a greater number of candidates. In Hungary and the GDR in addition to deputies, reserve deputies (deputy deputies) are elected, who take over in the representative body if a deputy drops out. In a number of countries the electoral systems have even more specific characteristics. If there are more candidates than deputy posts in Cuba or Vietnam, for instance, it is necessary to make a choice between the candidates, whereas in the GDR this is not necessary; the law specifies to whom the votes should go. In other words, the experience of our friends is multifaceted, there is a great deal that we can study.

[Feofanov] Let us agree, Boris Aleksandrovich, that it is not up to us to determine the changes in the electoral system. It is too complex a question which, as the CPSU Central Committee has noted, requires special discussion.

/7358

CSO: 1800/341

RELIGION

USSR RELIGIOUS LEADERS DISCUSS PEACE ACTIVITIES

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 86 p 6

[Article by IZVESTIYA special correspondent in Zagorsk, V. Kondrashov: "The Struggle for Peace is Everyone's Business"]

[Text] At the invitation of Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Pimen, a meeting of heads and representatives of the churches and religious associations in the USSR has taken place at the Troitsa-Sergiyevaya Monastery in Zagorsk. We have gathered here, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church said in an address to the attendees, in order to sum up the results of the peace-making work which we have carried out during the past year, which was proclaimed an international year of peace by the UN, and to discuss ways and means which can give even more depth and force to these efforts in the present, responsible period of history. Our homeland appropriately welcomed and carried through the Year of Peace. The Soviet Union continues to observe its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests and has come forth with extremely important international political initiatives.

Like all others who took part in the discussions which developed, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church highly assessed the position of the Soviet side at the meeting in Reykjavik. All of us, he said, were strongly impressed by the forthright and constructive proposals made by our nation's leadership at the recent summit meeting in Reykjavik. This position was a bright expression of the new political thinking, of the new approach to solving the pressing problems of modern times.

The participants in the meeting -- Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, and Jews -- unanimously approved an Appeal to the world's religious figures, in which it is emphasized that, for many social, political and religious forces, the past year was in fact a year of invigorated struggle for peace. At the same time, the Appeal notes, processes continue to operate on our planet which produce great anxiety. Human rights are being trampled upon in the cruelest way under the system of apartheid reigning in the Union of South Africa, at the fault of Israel and its overseas patrons, blood is flowing in the Near East, and the US is continuing its undeclared war against the people of Nicaragua.

Having expressed deep sorrow in connection with the fact that, at the fault of the American administration, negotiations in Reykjavik did not produce

concrete results, the participants in the meeting emphasized that, although agreements were not signed, it has become clear that they are possible. The world can no longer stay the same after the meeting in Reykjavik. The meeting in Iceland has become a vital impulse for the entire anti-war movement.

Under these conditions, the Appeal says further, our common responsibility is increasing, as never before, for protecting all life, for securing peace without nuclear weapons on Earth.

The participants in the meeting at Zagorsk called upon "all the world's religious figures to work together to erase the barriers of fear and distrust which exist in the relations between peoples, to collaborate for the good of every human being on Earth."

At a press conference following the meeting, its participants answered questions from Soviet and foreign journalists.

13032

CSO: 1800/222

RELIGION

DISPUTE WITH AUTHORITIES RESOLVED IN CHRISTIANS' FAVOR

PM271201 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 4, 25 Jan 87 p 12

[Vladimir Shevelev report under the rubric "The Right of Every USSR Citizen":
"We Write Two and Carry Three"; first graf is quotation from USSR Constitution]

[Text] "Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess or not to profess any religion, and to conduct religious worship or atheistic propaganda. Incitement of hostility or hatred on religious grounds is prohibited."

(USSR Constitution. Article 52)

We can now talk in the past tense about what happened in Oktyabrskiy, a town in the Bashkir ASSR. The Orthodox believers there wished to register a community a long time ago--because, without being registered, it cannot function legally. They had no intention of building a new church, what they wanted was to purchase a house in the outskirts (they had already selected one) and adapt it to their needs. But local authorities persistently refused to register the community. At long last the Executive Committee of the City Soviet admitted that it had been wrong. The community is now registered and functioning normally. This removed tensions, stopped the flow of complaints and restored normal relationships between believers and non-believers.

The only pity is that it had not been done earlier. Then there would not have been so many complications. And there would have been no need to go to Bashkiria to sort things out.

We decided to see for ourselves how people get to Vozdvizhenka. The bus from Oktyabrskiy bus terminal takes people to Tuimazy City, 20 km away. There one has to change buses. It is not that near. And then we travelled in the Executive Committee's Volga. What about old people who have to change buses (three times) and wait in the cold in the winter? It is only a kilometre from the hard-top highway to the village, but the path crosses a ploughed field so that it is virtually impassable in spring and autumn.

What will Roza Yusupova, the Secretary of Oktyabrskiy City Soviet Executive Committee say? She sighs:

"Yes, it is a tough road."

Probably, she felt ashamed over the purely formal answers to complaints: "You can meet your religious needs at the church in Vozdvizhenka Village." However her confusion is short-lived and very soon her pretty face looks confident again.

"But why must we concern ourselves with their comforts?"

It is strange. It was really no trouble at all to see that there were no grounds to refuse registration. It was a legitimate request. However, the city authorities of Oktyabrskiy shrugged at my bewildered questions---didn't I realize why they acted as they did? Anyhow, the only thing clear for me was that the city authorities are writing two but carrying three, so to speak.

I listened to stories about the recent past of Oktyabrskiy (the town is only 40 years old)--how oil gushed from the No 11 well (the 99 preceding wells didn't produce any oil), how people put up tents and temporary huts, and, later on, laid parks, with everyone taking part and building the Technology Palace and other splendid edifices. The stories were impressive. The only hitch was they tended to be repeated. It seemed that the idea was to guide, enlighten and help me get my bearings by telling me these stories. I was being told, as it were, everything in our town is steeped in the spirit of youth and enthusiasm--the call came "extract the oil!" and we got it, then we were told "the park must blossom!" and they did. So, was it natural that people, who believed in supernatural forces, appeared in such a wonderful town? And where did they come from?

Where did they come from? Nowhere. They are locals.

I talked with believers in Oktyabrskiy.

"I was ill for a long time. Good people told me--don't listen to the doctors, go to God."

"The young people are much too active and there is a lot of hooliganism. If they'd go to church they'd be softer."

"When Sasha was sentenced, I wanted to commit suicide. But God saved me, gave me strength, heard my prayers and the case has been reconsidered."

A person is forced to go to supernatural forces more often than not by earthly trials--a grave illness, injustices, insults and lack of kindness.

Naturally, no one likes to admit this (even to themselves). It is much nicer to declare that you were urged by lofty ideas--let's say, by concern for the spiritual liberation of the city residents from prejudices and bias. I was even offered such explanations:

"Is the road to Vozdvizhenka tough? Of course, it is. But these problems are a boon, really. One believer will go, but another one will think twice about

whether to go on such a tough trip or not. He'll stay at home once, then twice and then, maybe, will forget all about his religion."

It looked like the people who talked with me equated religious convictions with such evils as, let's say drunkenness and holliganism. They fail to realize that what is involved are the convictions and feelings, which quite often develop in clashes with evil (including the above-mentioned ones), and get fortified if evil takes the upper hand and the feeling of justice is being trampled upon. In such circumstances coercive, "power" atheism never fails to produce an adverse effect--it aggravates the believer's apprehensions, his alienation from "the world" and even helps some people to "suffer" by creating an aura of martyrdom (which some believers aspire to).

At the very beginning of my trip when I was in Ufa, the man in one of the studies which I had to visit, said with a smile, after hearing what I had come for and looking pensively at the steep bank of the Belaya River, which could be seen from his window:

"I'd like to present you the title for your future article--'There Is No God in Bashkiria.' Like it? Well, please yourself."

And he started telling me things that I heard very often later on--about the republic's special road and the international nature of its new construction projects. And if there do exist believers in the republic, then it was something accidental, not characteristic and temporary--soon they would all disappear, but if they were allowed to register, to open a church, then it would signify a concession to religion, a retreat, a capitulation. After that the master of the room started enthusiastically speaking of his Komsomol prewar youth when the problems which we were discussing used to be solved much quicker and simply (in his opinion).

Everything got mixed up in Oktyabrskiy--the vague concept on the nature of religious belief on the prestige of one's own city, on one's own dignity and a timid glancing back at the "superior" opinion. The "city fathers" decided firmly not to allow the registration of a religious community. However, a serious obstacle--the law--barred the way to this understandable wish. Our constitution guarantees the right to profess or not to profess any religion. In keeping with this, a group of believers can set up a religious community, provided they follow certain rules. The law was clearly on the believers' side. And the city authorities decided to circumvent the law, to adapt it to their own ideas about expediency. At first they refused registration inventing all sorts of excuses. But complaints continued to snowball both in Ufa and in Moscow and then they decided to act more resolutely.

A strick question was posed "How many people have signed the petition to open the church? Some 2,000? That can't be! Check it up." And activists from among the public set out to determine the petition.

Later on attempts were made to persuade me that there was nothing bad in all that--that the authorities simply wished to find out how the pensioners were living, whether they had weakened their relations with their former work

collectives, etc. But, if this were so, why were only the houses of people who had signed the petition visited?

Pensioner G. Khozikova told me:

"They visited me. They told me take my signature off the petition. That was their assignment: to make us take our signatures off. Well, they didn't try to scare me but I know that they did this to others--do as you're told or your pension will be cancelled."

At the peak of the events the city newspaper OKTYABRSKIY NEFTAYANIK published the article--"Quacks from Religion" (some title!) by R. Garipov. The author frothed at the mouth that some people were petitioning the opening of a church --"in our young socialist city" (the same motif again!). These people were to blame for "continuing to write requests to various places, violating public order and hindering the normal functioning of governmental organizations." The paper, without any shame, publicly denigrated those who were defending their legal rights, endorsed by the Constitution, and assured its readers that it would be impossible to fulfill these rights in the future, too, and that "the attempts of a handful of religious fanatics will never be crowned with success."

There was one other strict question: "And who is it, who is causing trouble in our city"? And those who were collecting signatures were brought to the militia where rather dubious charges were issued against them. In one case they were even marched off to the militia straight from the city Soviet where they had come to be received by the authorities. Now, F. Fakhretdinov, one of the city's top militiamen admits that his colleagues were wrong:

"I will tell the militia not to repeat this deplorable episode."

But I could hear dissatisfaction as well--we are combating backward sentiments, but the law enforcers are not helping us, are passive and say that there are no grounds for bringing them to book.

A. Pyzhov, procurator of the city (he was also charged with inactivity), answered angrily:

"I'm not obliged to unmask anyone! I must see to it that the law is strictly abided by."

On my trip I had a chance to attend several atheistic lectures. All the lecturers spoke of the principles of freedom of conscience and didn't forget to mention that the citizens' rights cannot be encroached upon. But it all looked like formal declarations--that it was possible to do without it except when someone is giving a lecture. And in the meanwhile, feeble old men were trying to board the crowded buses to get to the far-off church. And some people asked the old men without any shame: "Why have you signed the petition?"--because the paper interpreted legal demands as a crime.

Unfortunately, it seemed quite often to people that in order to achieve a goal (and at the moment it, of course, looked lofty and radiant) it is possible to

circumvent the law, to amend it slightly and adapt it to one's own needs. Historical experience, and the experience of each person tell us that this is a dangerous road. Small violations, create conditions of permissibility and lawlessness.

The negligent attitude to law in Oktyabrskiy did not produce anything good. But it did bring a lot of bad. The idea was to free human personalities from prejudices and bias. In actual fact the result of the above described activities was quite the opposite--the insulted religious sentiments could only gather strength. The events left scars in the souls of many city residents. But then those who took part in the illegal activities, who made rounds of homes "verifying the lists of petitioners" have hardly become morally loftier or purer from doing this. The religious extremists started rearing their head and started to say to the "moderates":

"See? How can there be peace and understanding between believers and atheists?"

The Council for Religious Affairs, under the USSR Council of Ministers, closely analyzed what had happened, at its session, which was to endorse the decision of the Oktyabrskiy City Soviet Executive Committee (such is the procedure). It is obvious that the resolute changes that are going on in our country inevitably involve the subject this article has covered. The consolidation of legality, equality of all citizens before the law, unity of believers and non-believers--such are the fundamental principles of our society. And no one may violate them.

/12232

CSO: 1812/64

RELIGION

REASONS FOR YOUTH RELIGIOUS BELIEF EXAMINED

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 11, Nov 86 (signed to press 23 Sep 86) p 9

[Article by Yevgeniy Baikov, candidate of philosophical sciences, in response to a letter from a family in the city of Cheboksary, under the rubric "Practice -- Experience and Problems: Thinking About Letters": "'It's Surprising; Where Do They Get It From?'" ; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] "...As is known, a process of mass retreat from religion occurred in the 1920's and 1930's. Full enthusiasm, people were building a new life and forgot about God. At the time, people were somehow reluctant to talk about their faith. And now, not elderly people but some of the young ones are saying with a sort of pride: 'I believe, and nobody will stop me....' It's surprising; where do they get it from? There are even people with higher education among them. Evidently, we need to look for new forms of atheistic work.

The Nikolayev Family
Cheboksary

You raise difficult questions in your letter. I confess that, even for me, a professional atheist, it was necessary to think a while about them. Why were the masses moving away from religion more rapidly during the 1920's and 1930's than they are now? First of all here, I think, we should consider the direct influence of the socialist revolution when, in the words of V.I. Lenin, a "spasmodic increase in the spontaneous activity of the oppressed masses" took place (vol. 41, p 75). It is also necessary to keep in view the fact that, historically in the conditions of Russia, a situation had developed where the church turned out to be on the other side of the barricades which the revolutionary masses were storming. Following the October Revolution, many ministers of religion supported the counterrevolution. Therefore also, probably, as you write, the believers were "reluctant to talk about their faith". As concerns the attitude of the Soviet state toward religion, it has always recognized the principle of freedom of conscience, the right of citizens to profess any religion, or not to profess one at all. In proclaiming one of its program goals to be the overcoming of religious prejudices, the Party at the same time maintains a respectful regard for the feelings of believers.

During the years of Soviet rule, in the course of basic transformations which have encompassed all spheres of social life and under the influence of education and atheistic propaganda, enormous changes have taken place in the consciousness of people. A scientific world outlook has gained a foothold in spiritual life. A contradiction between scientific and religious views of the world and of man's place in it, of course, remains, but the earlier political confrontation between the socialist state and the church is now a matter of the past. Although the faithful still comprise a significant part of the population, most people have long since moved away from religion. The process of further overcoming religious vestiges is now proceeding at a different tempo -- along with a direct, open split, there is also an erosion of religiosity taking place.

For example, it is characteristic that, according to data from studies carried out at one of the enterprises in Saransk, almost half of the believers who were questioned could not give a straightforward and precise answer to the question of religion's role in the life of society and man.

And the matter does not lie only in "religious non-enlightenment" -- in lack of knowledge of certain church dogmas. The entire life of the modern believer passes in a manner that he does not feel a special need for "religious knowledge", since he is, for practical purposes, guided by other ideals and social standards. Data from many surveys show that believers are taking an active part in public and state work. According to the results of studies carried out in Omsk, within the oblast, 31.6 percent of the Russian Orthodox who were polled, 29.7 percent of the Pentecostals, 22.8 percent of the Baptists, 22.8 percent of the Lutherans, and 19 percent of the Muslims are participating in the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. Moreover, 30.6 percent of the Russian Orthodox, 30.3 percent of the Pentecostals, 28.8 percent of the Muslims, and 24.3 percent of the Lutherans are involved in other forms of socialist competition. Various commissions are being performed by 17 percent of the Baptists, 17 percent of the Lutherans, and 12.2 percent of the Muslims. According to data from the above-mentioned studies in Saransk, 30.4 percent of the believers who were questioned are engaged in public work.

More and more of the faithful are beginning to think about the truth of their convictions, comparing them not only with the facts of life, but also with the conclusions of science. Indicative in this connection is the fact that, in Saransk, 20 percent of polled believers are studying in the political education programs at their enterprises.

Such is the basic tendency in the development of social consciousness under the conditions of socialism and such are the facts which confirm the words of K. Marx: "...Religion will disappear to the extent that socialism develops" (vol 45, p 474). At the same time, the complexities and the contradictions of this many-sided process cannot be ignored. Many people still remain under the influence of religion, including also, as you correctly note, people with higher education. A revival of the vestiges of religion can be observed in a number of places. The reasons for this are varied and, at the same time, very substantial and I think that we will have to talk more about them in the

future. A great deal also will depend on the forms and methods of atheistic work, which also needs to be modernized and to be rid of outgrowths of formalism, showmanship, and blather. I am, for example, seriously concerned by the results obtained from surveys of the intelligentsia by Leningrad sociologists: 20 percent considered atheistic work to be simply unnecessary. Reflected here, evidently, are the shortcomings in this work which have already been discussed, existing notions about the "automatic withering away of religion in socialist society", and the "fashionable view" of religion, which has originated somewhere, as an "permanent source of spiritual standards and high morality."

Why do some young people speak with pride about their belief in God? For the largest part, this is from a desire to emphasize that they themselves are not "ordinary", a desire to be different, which, in general, is a natural thing for any person. And when a person lacks the spiritual strength, the persistence, and the talent to express his individuality in creative activity, a wish may appear to distinguish himself by deliberate religiosity. Immaturity in world outlook can also be telling in such cases. I must say that, as my experience shows, a person who truly believes will neither conceal nor show off his convictions. Therefore, in evaluating phenomena connected with religion and the church, it is very important to consider the specific situation that has developed.

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13032

CSO: 1800/222

RELIGION

'NEW LIFE' RADIO RELIGIOUS BROADCASTS SCORED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 49, 25 Nov - 8 Dec (signed to press 1 Dec 86) p 8

[Article by V. Lentin, candidate of philosophical sciences, in response to a letter written by V. Simakin in Vladivostok, who writes: "The western radio station New Life is beaming religious programs to our country. It seems to me that these transmissions do not represent a special danger. But do you have a different opinion?"]

[Text] The question asked by comrade Simakin testifies to the fact that the refined methods of western radio propaganda, and particularly of clerical propaganda, are capable of leading some Soviet people astray with regard to the true intentions of "radio preachers". This is not to mention that religious propaganda from abroad is an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of our country.

Now, with regard to the New Life radio station. Located in the most northern state in the US, Alaska, New Life came on the air relatively recently, in the summer of 1983, but it has already succeeded in occupying a special place among the foreign radio stations which direct religious broadcasts at the USSR. The station's daily program schedule opens with the announcement that it "receives financial support and guidance from the World Association of Christian Broadcasting." The New Life announcer doesn't say a single word about the fact that direct supervision of clerical radio propaganda to the Soviet Union, and of the New Life radio station in particular, is exercised by the US Committee of National Religious Broadcasters, which controls more than half of all "spiritual" radio programs in the Russian language. It is precisely the United States which has been and which remains the principle organizer and source of encouragement of clerical broadcasts to the USSR.

At first glance, it may seem strange that music programs make up a considerable part of New Life's air time. "Dear listener," pontificates the announcer, "we hope that this encounter with American music will raise your spirits and that you will recall this music throughout the day." What do we need to "raise" our spirits for and why do we need these "recollections"? New Life prefers not to be popularized. Nevertheless, the purpose of the musical "approach" is completely obvious: to develop in its listeners, and primarily in young people, an emotional need to regularly listen to this radio station's programs.

Following a musical working-over, New Life listeners are offered the basic ideological product -- two religious programs. It is specifically for their sake that this station is in operation.

One of the programs is called "Interpreting the Bible from the Viewpoint of Ivan Kolesnikov". The political nature of this "preacher" is sufficiently clear behind his far from biblical sermonizing about the "ruthlessness of the atheistic state cult in the Soviet Union with regard to Christians" and about "dialectical materialism not being any of help on your deathbed."

Inasmuch as the radio station does not introduce this "commentator" himself, we will fill this gap. Ivan Kolesnikov emigrated from the USSR back before the Second World War. For many years, he worked as a lay preacher in the San Francisco Pentecostal community. Then he moved, with the same mission, to Canada. But the main thing is that he was an inveterate anti-Soviet.

Recently the behind-the-scenes operators of New Life concluded that the time had come to increase its share of "spiritual food". From then on, the hour-long program "In the World of American Music" began to be twice interrupted by "an announcement of special interest" -- just like importunate American commercials. Only, here, it is belief in God that is being advertised. Straightaway, the preacher tells about the holiness of the entire Bible, about the importance of studying it as the source of all "worldly wisdom", and even about its "medical" significance. "The Bible has cured more people than all the medicines put together."

In an attempt to attract new groups of listeners into the station's sphere of influence, New Life has originated a half-hour program, "In the World of Poetry". This poetical "world" opens and closes with the romantic song, "A Meeting Happens But Once in a Lifetime", performed by a popular Soviet female singer (who isn't named). Against the background of well-known popular and romantic songs, sound the pessimistic, decadent, mystic verses of pre-revolutionary Russian poets or of emigrants from the USSR in various other years and, from the "distant emigration", flow recollections about the former homeland, about a native city, "abandoned in the heat of war." And right here, in poetic packaging, are tossed up ideas about an all-seeing God, about saving the soul, about the kingdom of heaven.

And behind this religious and poetic screen, cautious allusions are made to a "big and unkind world" and its socialist regimes.

Playing on emotions -- this is the leading principle of imperialist propaganda. New Life also takes this position. This emotional game, in addition to everything else, is calculated to present the workers of the station in the guise of selfless well-wishers, motivated exclusively by endless sympathy for their listeners. All these "outpourings" of feeling are designed to create a favorable attitude on the part of the listeners toward the station, to soften them up, to make it possible to gain the confidence of naive, extremely careless listeners, to weaken their critical attitude toward

the ideological and political content of the programs, and then to place a hostile ideological base under their emotions.

Such are some of the methods and approaches of the radio subversives from New Life. To one degree or another these psychological tricks are also characteristic of other clerical radio centers, which are making a significant contribution to the informational and propaganda war of imperialism against the USSR.

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CSO: 1800/222

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN MARRIAGE CEREMONY ASSAILED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 23 November 1986 carries on pages 3-4 a 3,100-word article by L. Berdiyeva and J. Khommatdurdyev assailing remnants of religion in the marriage ceremony, focusing on the institution of bride-price. "Even people who do not believe in religion, who are knowledgeable and literate and who ought to know the basic content of religious remnants of the past are getting married according to religious traditions." Noting that the payment of bride-price is part of this tradition, the authors point out that this practice "lowers the human rank of women" and "is turning them into a commodity that is sold." They claim further that these practices are suggested by Western circles trying to manipulate the "Islam factor," or more precisely, "radio saboteurs stubbornly demanding that the peoples of the Soviet East be indoctrinated in religious fundamentals." They add that another reason for the survival of these practices is the poor quality of atheistic work conducted at the rayon level, especially in Bakherden, Yylanly, Tejen, Bayramaly, Kerki, and Kaka Rayons.

/6091

CSO: 1835/407

CULTURE

CURRENT SOVIET THEATER PLAYS REVIEWED

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 9, Sep 86 pp 112-120

[Article by Konstantin Shcherbakov: "Theater in a Year of Changes"]

[Text] After the 27th CPSU Congress, which aroused a high degree of public activity and initiative, possibilities for an honest and open discussion of life increased. But the opportunity to utilize these possibilities has been given to those who have always striven for such a discussion and in whom the genuine spiritual need to tell people that which is important has lived, throbbed and pulsated, whether it found expression or not.

Salutary changes in the country's social climate have not taken a number of Moscow theaters unawares. Focusing on the present, on pivotal moments in our Soviet country's history, on revolution and on the Great Patriotic War, they are pondering fundamental problems, at times acute and difficult problems, and engaging in a search for answers to the questions that present-day reality poses with complete definitiveness.

This article will deal with some outstanding phenomena of the recent Soviet stage.

Eye to Eye

...A distant Russian territory, winter, a blizzard, the home of Pavel Romanovich Vazhnov, raykom secretary, constructed on the stage of the Moscow Artistic Theater [MKhAT]... On this particular evening MKhAT performed A. Misharin's play "Silver Wedding", which was produced by O. Yefremov and staged by D. Borovskiy.

The clouds scud by, scarcely clearing the roof; the blizzard swirls, covering the roads. You are immediately overcome by a sense of the compression and haste of time and the boundlessness of space--space in which the Vazhnov abode is a small part, but what a part--one through which much can be seen and understood. Making his way to his old friend along one of the snow-covered roads is Gennadiy Georgiyevich Vybornov, who had formerly worked there, then had taken a high-level position in Moscow, and now had been relieved of his duties in connection with a transfer to other work. What sort of work? That is as yet unknown.

His mother, a teacher and one of the first Komsomol members in the area, had lived and then died not far from there. Vybornov did not get back before she died, but only arrived for the funeral. The hours and days since his mother's death become for him hours and days of self-examination. Pavel Romanovich Vazhnov and Vasilii Vasilyevich Siryy, the chairman of a kolkhoz, reflect intensively and arduously with him, and these reflections become the nerve and essence of the performance...

Pavel Vazhnov (P. Shcherbakov), who had lengthy experience in party work, felt unexpected, unusual discord within his heart. How had the years been spent? He did good, he did evil, but too often he swam with the current, not bothering to think about what was going on around him. How many times had he been promised that henceforth everything would be different and better. How many times had he himself made promises to people and had, so it seemed, become accustomed to thinking that it was permissible to promise but not follow through. However, it turns out that he had not become accustomed to it and his conscience was rebelling and calling him to account...

Nor was it easy for Vybornov (O. Borisov); he also needed to change much within himself. "A person doesn't free himself by decree from above alone: He must change from within. From within." That is what Gennadiy Georgiyevich Vybornov, the executive, discovered. It was as if there were within him a spring savagely compressed to the limit. You don't know when it will straighten out, but something suggests that when it does there will be an explosion. When it comes, one understands: Yes, this individual could at the age of 22 command a tungsten mine during the war. O. Borisov is psychologically precise and socially precise. In our eyes, Vybornov becomes firmly convinced that order must be established not only in the "common household" but also in the heart of each person, and first and foremost, within oneself--the one is inseparable from the other.

Yes, discipline; yes, an honest, committed attitude toward the cause and the establishment of the prestige of good, honest work. But how does one establish it? How does one eliminate the gulf between word and deed?

Kronid Zakharovich Goloshchapov (O. Tabakov), one of the local rayon executives, also desires order. However, he dreams of those times when everything could be built on blind subordination and unquestioning obedience. Kronid Goloshchapov is Vazhnov's shadow, his evil genius. He takes on the dirty work himself, and will not allow Pavel Romanovich near it, but does everything in such a way that Vazhnov needs him as much as he needs his own arms...

Many people today feel deeply, painfully and keenly an intolerance toward such phenomena as theft, irresponsibility, sloppiness and drunkenness. And one must take the offensive against all of this; one must act and act decisively. But I have met, personally met, people for whom introducing order, establishing discipline and raising the prestige of conscientious labor means returning to methods based on brutality and fear. I. A. Misharin, O. Yefremov and O. Tabakov, likely, know such people. Middle-aged people whose need for the uncontrolled exercise of authority and blind obedience has entered their flesh

and blood and has not been eradicated by the intervening years. They also know young people, whom these years have not taught to think, remember or answer for their words and deeds. Young people whose lack of thought stretches from the years when Leninist norms of life were distorted in our country to the present day--a time of restructuring, when the opportunity for more active, more result-laden participation in the construction of a new society is opening for people. Ye. Yevtushenko, in his poem "Fuku!", devoted the following angry lines of warning to one such person:

But I fall into extreme depression,
when from the rear-view mirror of his truck
a Kolyma driver of nineteen years
boastfully hangs a well-known portrait...
Come to your senses,
 stupid lad with no memory,
The tires are spinning over grandfathers,
 over fathers.
The barbed wire recalls what was,
 as it punctures the tire.

Taking part in the constructive and sober social, economic and political analysis of our reality today, thinking of how to most rapidly eliminate economic errors and embarking on difficult, necessary and just work, we are obliged to soundly know how things should be and to remember how things were. In the heat of work and in the natural and just desire to accelerate the course of time, one must not allow Kronid Zakharovich Goloshchapov to find a follower in the person of that Kolyma driver of nineteen...

So can Gennadiy Georgiyevich Vybornov afford not to consider this? Can he ignore this when he sees how irreconcilably it separates his long-time comrades Vazhnov and Goloshchapov? Vybornov's eyes flame and his voice fills with deep and mature conviction: "Everybody wants order? Only--what sort of order?... Fear-induced restraint? We can do this..But then what?" No, creation and creativity are incompatible with fear. The words of his mother are never far from Vybornov's mind: "Power without conscience is unconscionable, and conscience without power is impotent!"

Kolkhoz chairman Vasiliy Vasilyevich Siryy (V. Nevinnyy) is indeed a person of strong conscience. Through all the times, including the brutal, difficult times, he directed his collective farm and did not allow it to fall into ruin or be pilfered by Goloshchapovs of various persuasions and ranks. When things would get too difficult, Siryy would use guile, but he never allowed himself to resort to Goloshchapov-style methods. And he knew how to maintain the prestige and dignity of honest work at a high level. It is for Pavel Romanovich Vazhnov, building and interpreting himself anew, to find a path to such people. Gennadiy Georgiyevich Vybornov must find a trustworthy common language with them.

Yes, one can say with conviction that the theaters, in their best works, have sensed the atmosphere and demands of the time and attempted to meet them head-on. Touching on painful and difficult subjects and approaching phenomena that until quite recently were simply not discussed, the artists do not attempt to

give exhaustive answers to questions that life itself has not completely resolved. They think and seek, inviting the audience to join in this meditation...

In V. Dozortsev's play, "Final Visitor", a certain strange individual arrives for an appointment at the office of a deputy minister of public health and demands that the office's occupant quit his post--no more and no less. The visitor is viewed, in turn, as insane, drunk and a scandalmonger. Yet, all in all, he reminds Deputy Minister Kazmin of certain facts of Kazmin's official, professional activity, facts that Kazmin would just as soon forget. Well, what's done is done. After all, a great deal of good has been accomplished. However, the strange visitor cannot reconcile himself to this point of view. He believes that a person is responsible, both to society and to his own conscience, for everything he has done and everything he has failed to do. If actions against one's conscience have been committed, they can't be set right through half-truths, half-confessions and half-measures.

While viewing the performance of the Theater imeni Yermolovoy (artistic production manager V. Fokin, stage director M. Tsitrinyak), you catch yourself feeling that the visitor, who has introduced such a sharp, dissonant note in the state person's measured life, is beginning to irritate not only the deputy minister, but you yourself as well. A. Pashutin plays the visitor in a nervous, unrestrained, pestering manner--so that at some point the thought creeps into one's mind: Listen, maybe this guy is a troublemaker? I think that the theater consistently strove to insure that we would ask ourselves this question, then fall to thinking and ultimately, to feel ashamed. Because sometimes we ourselves, like Deputy Minister Kazmin, have allowed ourselves to live according to lower moral norms. Or is this not the case? Really not? Never? The theater demands of the viewer a moral self-examination...

We don't like trouble-makers--what's right is right. But couldn't it really be that the stage characters, who are not from somewhere or other, but from our own reality, and are not necessarily trouble-makers but certainly ignoble--reckon on this dislike and "bury" people who simply desire elementary human justice? If these people's character has soured and their nerves have given out, are they to blame?

"Why is it so difficult?" asks the visitor from Dozortsev's play. "We have the truth on our side; we have the law on our side. So why am I bathed in sweat? What, are they above these things?" This is a cry of despair for A. Pashutin. Yet, the most charming R. Plyatt appears in the very same play in the very same role on the stage of the Academic Theater imeni Mossoveta, and together with producer B. Shchedrin, turns the performance in a different direction.

R. Plyatt's previously cited words sound sad and pensive, as if they cap off lengthy and difficult rumination. He doesn't come unhinged or fret--this, likely, had been his response in the past. Age has given him wisdom, and so the hero arrived in a state of reserve, ready to ask point-blank and to hear out the reply. Truth and moral law appear in such a way as to make them difficult to ignore. Yet nevertheless, they have not been acknowledged. Why? This does happen, then?

In accordance with the artistic logic of the performances, different types of visitors have different interlocutors. V. Pavlov's Kazmin (Theater imeni Yermolova) from the first concrete hint understands what is at issue. To this day he feels shame for a deed done long ago when, guided by careerist considerations, he refused to operate on a person, condemning him to death. His conscience did not die and it pains him, but a defensive reaction kicks in and so the deputy minister avidly grasps at the visitor's strangeness and irritating manners, as if trying to explain something by them or use them to hide from himself. But it doesn't work for Kazmin--one cannot escape oneself.

G. Zhzhenov's Kazmin has gone much further in his impenetrable, directorial self-esteem, so that even R. Plyatt's hero is for a long time unable to break through to him. On just what grounds does this man confront him, Kazmin, with charges? He had saved so many people and then brought so much good when he left the clinic to take an administrative position! And then this, you understand... Thus, the calm, uncompromising assurance of R. Plyatt's hero was needed so that G. Zhzhenov's Kazmin understands and remembers: honor, decency and conscience are not measured with a ruler, and no deviation from these moral categories passes without a trace.

Why is it so difficult? After all, at issue are such simple, obvious things...

I should, however, note: The fact that the visitor may be portrayed in such diverse ways, even with respect to his age (R. Plyatt plays an old man, A. Pashutin a middle-aged person, and in Leningrad, at the Academic Bolshoy Dramatic Theater imeni Gorkogo, the hero, as I understand it, is quite young), attests, I think, to known weaknesses in V. Dozortsev's play. Given the unquestionable significance of its civic content and the acuteness and vitality of the problems presented, it is notable for a certain artificiality of construct and speculativeness. Moreover, the central protagonist is written in such a way that directors and actors have no choice but to exhibit not only imagination, but even willfulness in order to flesh out the character from within; a sinful sketchiness is palpable. The play's dialogue also sometimes becomes too convoluted--I think the Theater imeni Yermolovoy had the right idea in sharply curtailing it to make the action more elastic and dynamic.

V. Dozortsev's actual social and human discovery is Kazmin's assistant Yermakov. He is the deputy chairman's evil genius who does all the dirty work so artistically for him that Kazmin himself can, as it were, fail to notice, given a certain bent of mind, of course. But that is only for a time. For when the "old-fashioned" pangs of Kazmin's conscience begin and he tries to blame Yermakov for callousness and baseness, the assistant will mercilessly, cynically and irrefutably prove that they are bound by a common thread, and that the deputy minister, in his present position, is helpless without the likes of Yermakov. Yermakov is a dreadful figure who forces one to think about the roots and sources of such phenomena as social demagoguery and social injustice.

N. Prokopovich (Theater imeni Mossovet) has tenaciously and precisely perceived this--the sources and roots. His Yermakov is a person with a prehistory, a man with an underground. Having lived through much and seen much, he has developed an entire philosophy of harsh, shrewd cynicism before

which truth and justice sometimes seem to be powerless. S. Sazontyev's Yermakov (Theater imeni Yermolova) is more direct, more frank. He is young and strong, and he is so convinced that he has Kazmin wrapped around his finger that he doesn't want to expend energy on wile. Interpreted in various ways, the figure presented to us is sinister and recognizable. Yermakov and Goloshchapov from MKhAT's production... Look around you--they are still among us and ready to mimic their surroundings. Remember this when you are at work and you think about the future.

Loyalty and Memory

So just how do we proceed? By unfailingly sensing ourselves a link in the common chain of time. By relying on the fruitful experience of years past. And also by not forgetting the difficult, bitter pages of our history, and drawing the proper lessons from them.

In that same Moscow theater, the Theater imeni Yermolova, V. Fokin staged the production "Speak...". The play was written by the young playwright A. Buravskiy based on motifs from essays by Valentin Ovechkin that are more than 30 years old and on facts from his biography--the Writer himself is present on stage, along with his protagonists. The theater saw something vitally important in this fate and in these lines which have already become a part of history...

On the stage is a scene of capital construction, albeit unfinished construction (artists O. Tvardovskaya and V. Makushenko)--a building, to which it is impossible to fit a roof, and the threatening sky visible through the girders. From the very first second, the people are excited and worked up: It's raining, the roads are impassable and grain deliveries are breaking down. The entire stage atmosphere is saturated with this excitement and agitation, reminiscent of the atmosphere at a time when too much depended on the shout, the command and fear. Borzov, first secretary of the party raykom, argues till he is hoarse with Martynov, the raykom's second secretary. The subject of the argument is how to take grain, which the state needs so desperately, from the collective farm workers: rationally, taking into account each person's contribution to the common weal, or in direct disregard of all obstacles, to the last handful of grain, if only to make the report to the obkom appear satisfactory. The essence of the argument is this--should the collective farm workers consider themselves masters of their land or day-laborers who are linked, arm and foot, by directions, instructions and directives from above? It is an essence that has still not taken its place in history.

The conflict, which was brought to light in reality by Valentin Ovechkin, then became a part of numerous books, theatrical productions and films; therefore, the first scenes of the Yermolova thespians' performance, while emotional and humanly fleshed out, nevertheless bear the imprint of a certain familiarity. But they are only a claim, a prologue. At the very point where other productions draw to a close, Fokin's performance begins to gather force and scale. It was March, 1953, and Borzov, a proponent of the "strong hand", and an arbitrary style of leadership, had been discharged from his position. Martynov was elected first secretary of the party raykom. Life without Borzov began. Post-Borzov.

We see the new first secretary (A. Zharkov) in his office, a little confused, pleased and elated, avidly anticipating the thoughts, ideas and advice of the people who come to his office. Martynov is benevolent, open and frank, and at first, his conversation with the director of the agricultural department is comical. There is a sort of striking incongruity of spiritual spheres and of the states and degree of understanding of the reason why, strictly speaking, this meeting is taking place. But when Martynov suddenly begins to shout at the abashed director, you no longer feel like laughing, for there is the clear sensation that something painful, difficult and dramatic has been touched. The experienced, intelligent raykom official hangs on the first secretary's words and cannot grasp that Martynov is demanding results from him, and not backroom information about the local administrative situation. He has lost comprehension of the fact that a higher authority can demand results.

Martynov will again and again break into shouting, by no means directorial or "managerial". They will be bursts of despair that have reached the throat. Despair because for weeks he rushes about the rayon but all his efforts prove to be hole-patching, nothing more, and as soon as one hole is patched, another one opens up in the same place. Despair because the people do not want to talk, and if they do begin to talk, the situation proves completely hopeless. Martynov listens to a young tractor operator's story about a person who paid dearly for deciding to sow based on common sense rather than stupid instructions. Or Marya Sergeyevna Borzova, who in a monotone voice, as if hardened by spiritual torment, draws a picture of the disgraceful acts and excesses being wrought by the gang of scoundrels who had forced their way into the management of the "Struggle" kolkhoz. How long does this striking monologue by T. Dogileva last? Ten minutes? Fifteen? And all about phenomena on the increase. So that a powerless fury overwhelms Martynov and us, the audience. Justice is reestablished in this case, but what about others? Hack work is put to an end in one section, but will others be collared? Borzov is gone, but just the same, all the others are still around. Both evil people and good, all accustomed to an order of things that has existed for too long; people who do not believe that this order can be changed. How can they be made to believe again?

At this point, something suddenly cracks in Martynov. It is abrupt and completely natural, for we, the audience, have approached and crossed the line, the edge, together with the protagonist. Martynov's voice begins to exhibit notes of impatience and mercilessness. These people don't want to help themselves and they fear the rogues and scoundrels, so they must be forced to the side of good and truth. What an understandable human reaction, and what a dangerous, mortally dangerous one! It is at this point that the Writer (S. Sazontyev) gives his long-time friend and protagonist a rebuke worthy of the author of "Life in the Rayon": "Control, after all, comes only from above. From below comes silence. No, Martynov, if these rank-and-file collective farm workers, simple people, are nevertheless, masters of their homes, as we are always saying, if they are in actual fact masters, then the right... to say... everything they are thinking, no matter what, should be theirs. To speak the truth aloud. This, then, will be the best insurance from all misfortune."

So Martynov will approach the milkmaid standing at the rostrum, from the "Struggle" kolkhoz, the same kolkhoz that the swindlers and embezzlers have virtually brought to ruin, and will tear from her hands a sheet of paper with the standard speech written by someone and bark sharply and imperatively: "Talk!" And the people will support him--the peasant men and women, the young and the old, the poorly dressed and the colorfully dressed. It is they who, in a tight group, slowly step-by-step emerged from the depths of the dark stage at the decisive moments of the performance and thought, thought aloud about life in their rayon and about life in general, about what must be changed, corrected or redone in it. So their words are uncouth and their thoughts are not fully developed, but they seized the hall, for this was an avid search for the heart and essence of what was occurring.

...The year 1956 drew near.

Looking into the past, the theater focuses its attention on years of support and breakthrough, years that give the present day much food for thought.

An old, faded photograph with smudged edges that have run. Pensive, laughing, carefree and stern, willful and gentle, defenseless and dazzling young faces. Then suddenly they take life, these faces from the old, faded photograph; immobile figures transform into girls and boys, and one of them begins a narrative from the stage, speaking directly to the audience. The Theater imeni Mayakovskiy is presenting the dramatization of B. Vasilyev's novel, "The War Was Tomorrow" as staged by A. Goncharov (director S. Yashin).

The time of the action is 1940. One of the protagonists, the highly placed executive Leonid Sergeyevich Lyuberetskiy, has been arrested on a trumped-up charge and his daughter, the 9th grader Vika, unable to endure the injustice, commits suicide. The writer and the theater tell us: This is the way it was, and if we are worthy people, if memory lives within us, we don't dare forget about this. Moreover, the writer speaks of how injustice was refracted in the hearts of his compatriots living at that time and just what sort of hearts these were.

Perhaps the very strongest aspect of the performance is the image of the ninth class "B", the same class from the old, faded photograph. Very young actors play the young people; they either converse among themselves or directly address the audience, and the contact between them and the public is established quickly and solidly. At the same time, the young actors have sufficient ability and mastery to look into the country's past in a responsible and focused manner.

Is it possible to carry a classmate along her final path and to say the words over her grave that come into one's throat if the circumstances of her life and death are similar to those of Vika Lyuberetskaya? It's good that today's young people do not need to solve such problems, that these problems can only be perceived as absurd and unnatural. But the choice between bravery and cowardice, between nobility and duplicity, between civic activeness and the position that "It's not my concern"--this choice is being made today as well.

The production's young protagonists did not know much of what we know today. They had to encounter circumstances that are now absent in our reality. But they made their choice consistently and uncompromisingly, a choice for bravery, nobility and civic activeness, even knowing that it might cost them dearly.

The production's protagonists approached their important decisions in various ways--some immediately, others after overcoming spiritual timidity. But the best of them, even when everything in life had become very confused, unerringly sensed the boundary between good and evil.

Abrupt to the point of straightforwardness, the public activist Iskra Polyakova (Ye. Molchenko) for a long time cannot find a common language with the reserved, slightly arrogant Vika Lyuberetskaya (G. Belyayeva), who speaks openly of her love for the poet Yesenin, then out of fashion. Yet her final letter before she died, Vika addressed precisely to Iskra with the words I want to cite here: "I often think about faith in our fathers and am firmly convinced that if we stop believing in our fathers, believing that they are honest people, then we will find ourselves in a desert... I will die a Komsomol member, yet I take this step because I cannot deny my father. I cannot and I will not." And Iskra will approach the open grave of her friend and, despite warnings and demands "to arrange no requiem", will utter lines that just the day before she considered "decadent":

Goodbye, my friend, goodbye,
My dear one, you are in my heart.
This destined parting
Promises a meeting in the future...

This from the very same Iskra who will one year later become a messenger for the partisans and perish at the hands of the Fascists, together with her mother, a commissar of the civil war.

Educators, instructors and parents--they are a varied lot in the performance. Iskra's mother (T. Vasilyeva), who had given her daughter her impatient directness, could disrespectfully refer to Lyuberetskaya as a "reflexive intellectual", but when trouble came, it was she who wrote a letter in his defense, for she had known Lyuberetskiy for many years and did not consider it morally possible to act in any other way. People such as the senior Polyakova would assert with heated temper that honor was an aristocratic concept, but they lived by honor. Just as school director Nikolay Grigoryevich Romakhin,, former commander of the First Cavalry Squadron, lived by honor. One of the production's best scenes is the one in which the director teaches a stern and merciless lesson of nobility and chivalry to a fellow who had struck a girl: "A real man loves only two women...his mother and the mother of his children. A real man give his last bread ration to a friend, even if he himself is fated to die of starvation. A real man loves and respects all people and hates the enemies of these people."

There was, in addition, the class leader Valentina Andronovna (O. Prokofyeva), for whom informing, denunciation and letters "to whom it may concern" had become not only methods of upbringing, but also the atmosphere and air of

life. And it happened much too often in those years, that the Romakhins proved helpless before the confident pressure of her demagoguery. The performance discusses this time without omitting its dramas, contradictions or deviations from the laws of truth and justice. But it does discuss the Time.

...And the protagonists again become immobile, as in the old, faded photograph. There are boys and girls who went to the front in '41 and accomplished a feat before whose greatness we bow our heads today. Without doubt or hesitation, they gave everything they had to the Homeland. The action of this tragic and lucid performance, it will be remembered, takes place during the prewar years. But it is a performance about the generation that went to war. About why they were victorious.

The action of the theatrical performance "Ivan" takes place in our day, but the pain and memory of the past war is persistently present in it. Is it this memory of still priceless moral capital that safeguards a person's internal world from corrosion and gives clear notions of good and evil? Or have time and the circumstances of life in the past 10 to 15 years washed away or eroded something that should not be subject to washing away or erosion according to the immutable laws of human justice? This is the subject of the young playwright A. Kudryavtsev. Director V. Andreyev produced this play on the stage of the Maliy Theater.

A veteran and front-line soldier has lived in his village for many years and everyone there knows that he is unfailing in his work. A good quality? A useful one. In any case, a day doesn't pass without people approaching for his help. They know he will do it, while another person would refuse, and in the bargain, let drop a convoluted expression that can't be reproduced in print. But what a strange story: The many people who make use of Ivan's golden hands, all the same, do not take him seriously. So if he burdens himself with work, they say, what's it to us? But for them to work just as much as he?--you've got to be joking; they aren't fools.

Yes, Kudryavtsev intentionally places Ivan in absurd, comic situations and we will laugh at him, together with the characters in the play and the production. We will laugh until the playwright and the theater bring us face to face with a tough but necessary question: Why had the villagers become accustomed to the former policeman-collaborator Grishka, who had remained a collaborator in terms of internal constitution and life principles, but cannot accustom themselves to Ivan? Why does Grishka, who carts off behind his thick fence everything that isn't nailed down--it is terrible to even say--why does he lead a more carefree life than the upright Ivan? And why, when after many years a high front-line award catches up to Ivan, some people from the neighborhood are profoundly indifferent, while others simply do not believe it: Ivan talks a lot of nonsense, everyone knows he doesn't have both oars in the water...

Ivan is played by V. Korshunov, an actor of clearly expressed "positive" charm, who has played protagonists that enjoy immediate audience sympathy and that are capable of struggling and winning. In this performance about an unsuccessful lover of truth, on whom even his own wife looks with a certain fatigued vexation, Korshunov does not deny himself and does not conceal his

own qualities, both internal and external. This gives rise to the question: if the protagonist is so openly good and pure, then what's causing the problem? Why the ridicule and apprehension?

I am aware that people who live in accordance with truth and who speak the truth sometimes appear harsh, strange and awkward--the truth itself is by no means always comfortable. The performance "Final Visitor" at the Theater imeni Yermolova comes to mind; the same alarming theme resounds in it.

Also recall "Ivan", produced by director B. Morozov at the Moscow Theater imeni Pushkin. G. Barukov, who plays the main role in the production, is forced, as it were, to "break through" to Ivan by means of the character's reserve and cantankerousness, and this effort is very interesting, as if to warn and challenge: Do not pass by, stop and take a closer look, get to the bottom of this.

When we look at Korshunov's protagonist, we don't need to overcome or investigate. On the stage of the Maliy Theater, Ivan is indeed simple, clear and open. But the question, "What's causing the problem?" doesn't arise for me personally. Another question arises, burns and alarms me: How does it happen that clarity, openness and simplicity sometimes come so hard? And how could it happen that a person, who under no circumstances has deviated from the laws of morality and conscience, can by this fact alone irritate and vex others?

Yet again I would point out that today we speak of how important, decisively important, is the need to reestablish the prestige of conscientious, honest labor; of the need to take steps to ensure that the inclination toward hack work and the desire, having done less, to grab more is met with universal condemnation. The Maliy Theater's production forces one to consider the fact that everything begins with the individual and his relationship with the time, and it is our luck that people such as Ivan do not disappear, even in the most difficult times. The performance also forces one to think about the fact that people in the present day, people who carry the present within them, cannot be outside the realm of a continual, expansive and responsible internal dialogue with the past.

In order to proceed further, one must know how it was, and see the past in all its dramatism, in all its contradictions and in its indissoluble link with the reality of the 1980's.

M. Shatrov's play, "Dictatorship of Conscience", staged by M. Zakharov at the Moscow Theater imeni Leninskiy Komsomol bears the subtitle "Arguments and Meditations for 1986". The production's form is sharp and unexpected. It has no plot and no protagonists in the usual sense of the word. Scenarios of a political dispute which was reported in the press in 1920 are played out on stage in a dynamic, theatricalized form. This old scenic canvas is filled with a modern content. Pondering the fates of Leninist doctrine and of socialism in the 20th century, council for the defense and council for the prosecution present their arguments and their dispute; their ideological skirmish on stage will not have the appearance of a game of give-away.

Verkhovenskiy, from Dostoyevskiy's "The Demons", and his advocacy of "barracks-room" socialism, and Andre Marti, who during the revolution lead a mutiny of French sailors in Odessa, fought in Spain, and in the 1950's was expelled from the French Communist Party for dogmatism and adherence to the concept of the "strong hand", appear as witnesses for the prosecution. Today's adherents to this concept, voluntarily or not, will also appear on stage.

In counterbalance to them are people of clear conscience who have lived at various times, but who are united by the fact that the ideas of freedom for people and its flourishing, which received further development in the ideas of our revolution, were their highest goal in life, for whose sake heroes faced death, standing firm. The People's Will--Zhelyabov, Perovskaya, Kibalchich, Mikhailov. General Karbyshev...

"Dictatorship of Conscience" is not so much a clash of characters as it is a clash of ideas. It is a search for truth that the theater undertakes together with the audience. We often and not very responsibly speak the words "political theater", sometimes referring by this to a play "on a foreign theme", at other times excessively expanding the concept--in the sense that there can be no apolitical theater in our country, hence, no matter which performance is in view, it will nevertheless be political. M. Shatrov and M. Zakharov present to us the experience of a scenic performance that is permeated with political currents of the present day--high voltage currents. They present to us a production in which the strength of the most fundamental ideas of the 20th century are tested in living disputes and in a nontrivial struggle. That is why the atmosphere in the theater is quite special--an atmosphere of political dispute in which frankness and openness are a pressing requirement for everyone who participates in this dispute. The audience hungrily snatches at the thoughts emanating from the stage and this immediately gives rise to their own thoughts in response.

The theater skillfully, sensibly and acutely links the present with the past. The audience listens closely to these words spoken by one of the actors: "Truth must not depend on whom it will serve." And we consider the fact that the salutary changes that are taking place in our country today find solid support in the doctrine of Lenin...

* * *

The year 1986, the 27th Party Congress, a time of changes... The previously cited productions vividly attest to the active participation of our theater in them. However, we will not forget that, along with these productions, others that the demands of the time, as it were, have nothing to do with whatsoever, have been staged in recent months. There are productions, as well, that respond to these demands with a pair of harsh phrases, gleaned from newspaper articles. Dramatists at the 8th USSR Writers' Congress have spoken with alarm about how dangerous superficiality and the situation are. And about the need to go much deeper, investigating the relationship between man and the present social reality. And about the forthcoming reform, which it is said should give

the theater a great deal more independence that it has known in the past. How will all of this appear in actual practice? Problems, problems... They will be resolved in a new social climate under more favorable social conditions. This inspires high hopes.

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CULTURE

NEW TIMES CELEBRATES SINGER VYSOTSKIY

PM161511 [Editorial report] Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 5, 9 February 1987 publishes on pages 30-31 a feature under the headline "He Believed in Truth," consisting of memoirs by Ales Adamovich and Bulat Okudzhava on the late Vladimir Vysotskiy. The feature, accompanying a photograph of a young man in flared jeans and Cuban-heeled boots posing with an acoustic guitar, opens with the following unattributed introduction: "'It's not posturing. I'm not lying--I can't. I CAN'T'" [printed in caps]. One can hardly imagine that anyone other than Vladimir Vysotskiy could have written this line. His 'I'm not lying' is the key to everything he sang, played and wrote.

He appeared in 25 films, made several records and for sixteen years worked in the theatre. But his songs were a thing apart--they were known and sung all over the country.

He would have been 49 on January 25. "The quality of poetry depends on the poet's heart," said one article about Vysotskiy, and there were many to commemorate the anniversary. The quality of his poetry always was superb--but his heart failed him.... His verses and songs remain as do his films and, most importantly, an interest in his personality, which has, moreover, continued to grow. That is why records of his verses and songs are still appearing, films and TV programmes being made and books about him written.

Below writer Ales Adamovich and poet Bulat Okudzhava give their impressions of Vladimir Vysotskiy."

Ales Adamovich gives his "impressions" in an article entitled "The Living Man--And Now Already History," which reads:

Singing like shouting? There was just something in him that kept shouting. A hoarse voice? But what if he shouted himself hoarse just to be heard?

If you work on books of people's memories and they remain vivid in your mind--you seem to be hearing the voices of those whose stories you have put down--then you will respond to Vysotskiy in a special way. His songs, too, are like a shout of memory.

The "Who says everything has burned to ashes" or "Heat me the bath-house in white way"--were they not the anguished voices of memory?

Vitaliy Semin wrote a story about a young boy, almost a child, who had just returned from a nazi concentration camp: "I kept on shouting for a couple of days, perhaps.... Mother watched me in fear, then called my cousin.... They listened to my shouts like for a long time, then my cousin said, as if I were not there: 'They all shout like this now. He will shout himself out and become as good as new. A boy older than Sergey returned to our neighbours' and kept shouting for four days or so, but then returned to normal....'"

And then we stopped shouting and even talking, though the memory still hurt. And all of a sudden, there came the voice and songs of Vladimir Vysotskiy. A shout for all of us. Small wonder that people (and not merely the younger generation), took Vysotskiy and his songs as their own--and with a vengeance!

Volodya and Marina Vladiy joined our crew when we were filming "Our Songs Go Into Battle" in 1969. The location was near Novogrudok in Belorussia. Vysotskiy had begun to write songs for Viktor Turov's films, such as "I Come From Childhood" and "War Under the Roofs," long before that. I remember him coming to Minsk a couple of years before the meeting in Novogrudok and even playing a part in our first film, "War Under the Roofs." But he was "cut" (by those who were "cutting" all our cinema, merely because they knew better than film-makers, and even the people themselves, "what the people need").

Vysotskiy's songs, meanwhile, had been recorded by a professional singer.

Now he came to Novogrudok with Marina, for whom it was her father's homeland which she was yet to get to know. Just a week later she pleaded with Viktor Turov and myself, "Please talk Volodya into staying longer!"

From time to time they appeared in our "guerrilla camp," young and happy with each other and each other's talent.

There is also a roll of amateur 16-mm silent film, without a sound track. Meanwhile, the forest reverberated with Vysotskiy's songs. I not only hear them but seem to see them, the veins on his neck swollen to bursting point and his eyes red with the strain.... And I see Volodya himself, talking and laughing, youthfully bright and friendly. His voice was unexpectedly quiet and he listened more than he talked I am not sure whether he brought his songs ready or composed them there and then (those for our first and second films).

All of them (with one exception) were recently recorded under the overall title, "Our Sons Go Into Battle,"...

Before we had time to look round, the living man had become history. As Chekov says in one of his sadder stories, "How quickly it all happens!..."

The feature concludes with Bulat Okudzhava's piece entitled "The Voice of the Poet," which reads as follows:

"Take Vysotskiy," a fan of his once said: "Everyone from the cleaning lady to the academician, loves and understands him."

He thought this was high praise for the poet and his work--but I disagreed because "universal" love is a questionable yardstick.

People nurtured on vapid, mindless entertainment will not respond to Vysotskiy's poetry; his sarcasm and irony will be lost on those who are not used to thinking independently; and those who are indifferent to everything save their personal problems will remain deaf to his pain and anguish. His poetry is for them at best an empty sound and a red rag at worst.

A true poet always arouses resentment as well as adulation, and has detractors and even enemies along with devoted fans. Vladimir Vysotskiy and his poetry have plenty of both and this, perhaps, is one of the most persuasive signs of his veracity and greatness.

A true poet is born to meet the spiritual needs of society. These needs are in the air, and the more acute they are, the stronger and harsher is the poet's voice. It is food for thought to those capable of thinking and Vysotskiy's immense popularity derived far more from recognition on the part of those who shared his views than some "universal" love.

And there were many people who thought as he did.

I wrote two songs dedicated to him.

Here is a stanza from the more recent of them:

There are some even now who dislike his harsh cry
And want to add sweetness to his song....
But his verses do not die; they soar to the sky,
And if they suffer wrong it can only make them strong.

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CULTURE

VYSOTSKIY WIDOW ASKS PUBLICATION 'TO SET RECORD STRAIGHT'

PM270851 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 4, 25 Jan 87 p 16

[Interview with Marina Vlady, widow of Poet and Singer Vladimir Vysotskiy, by special correspondent Dmitriy Yakushin in Paris, date unspecified: "He Described Himself Best of All"]

[Excerpts] Maisons-Laffitte, where Marina Vlady lives, is a 40-minute drive from Paris. Marina Vlady has just returned from Moscow where she was recorded at Central Television for two programmes about Vladimir Vysotskiy.

She says:

"I'm happy that these programmes are being prepared, although the six-year wait could have been avoided. I know that much is being written about Volodya today, that a committee is reviewing his creative heritage, and I hope they will publish things I left in Moscow after his death. Among other things, there were more than 700 poems, prose works and screenplays. I thought that these things should stay in the USSR.

"My impression is that the public mainly knows his songs which are often appallingly recorded. Reading his poems gives you quite a different perception of his creative genius. This is all the more important since new generations have grown up who have neither heard him nor seen him on the stage. So let them read Vladimir Vysotskiy's writings rather than hear his tapes."

"Marina, how is it that having always lived in France, you still have managed to look and speak Russian?"

"Well, I'm Russian, with a French passport. My father graduated from the Moscow Conservatoire. At the start of World War I he left for France to volunteer for the army. He was the only son of his widowed mother, and so not eligible for the army in Russia. He became a pilot, was wounded and decorated. After the war he stayed in France, worked at the Paris Opera. My mother's family left Russia in 1919. My mother found herself in Belgrade. She worked at a theatre where she met my father, Vladimir Polyakov, who was there on a performing tour.

"I was raised by my granny. She didn't speak French, and taught me Russian songs, stories, poems, and took me to an Orthodox church. I didn't become a believer, but my Russian origin became dearer to me. I still like to sing Russian songs. My sisters and I have even released three records of Russian songs. I've also made a record called Peace Songs where I sing Russian lullabies--one of which I learned from my grandmother.

"The 12 years I lived with Volodya were also instrumental.

"Incidentally, gathering dust for many years at the Melodiya firm is a disc we recorded together. I hope it will be released some day."

"Vladimir Vysotskiy often performed abroad. How did his audiences react?"

"Those who heard him at concerts were overwhelmed, of course. Audiences only judged him by the image he projected because they couldn't follow what he was singing about. They all could feel his colossal charm which cannot be conveyed on tape or film. His concerts were attended by many Soviet people working abroad. Even they sometimes had difficulty understanding his message, for they didn't feel life in the country so intimately as he did."

"I've happened to hear some improbable stories about the way you met. How did you really meet?"

"It was very simple. I went to Moscow in 1967 for the film festival and went to the Taganka Theatre with Max Leon, then L'HUMANITE Moscow correspondent. Max knew Volodya and he introduced me to him after the play was over. We went to the actor's restaurant, then had a party at Max's flat and listened to Volodya sing. We became friends. Next year I went to Moscow for the Yutkevich film and we began to meet more frequently. Then we got married. Max Leon and Vsevolod Abdulov of the Moscow Art Theatre were our witnesses."

"Marina, what do you think of the tombstone over his grave?"

"I had a different design."

"In my country much is being written about Vysotskiy. Do you read these publications?"

"Yes, I know about them. I can feel a trend to idealize Volodya, to picture him as kind of a good guy, a sweet personality. He was kind and generous, but he had his failings and faults like any other man. I in fact agreed to go to Moscow in order to restore his true image a bit.

"Everybody is out today to make him their friend. Me included. After all, he was my husband. Surely I knew him well, but I'm totally ignorant of some traits of his character. An extraordinary man, he never was a saint. Many today speak of having been his close friends, although they could have helped him more when he was living: people not fit to hold a candle to him thought it better if the nation wasn't supposed to know him. They made decisions for other people... But all that would pass, and the most important thing would remain.

"I was once approached for writing a few lines for a book of reminiscences. You cannot write a few lines about Volodya. Besides, he wrote all there was to write. And more of what he wrote should be published to put the record straight. He described himself best of all."

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CULTURE

PAPER QUESTIONS 7-YEAR TV BAN ON SINGER VYSOTSKIY

PM041403 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 27 Jan 87 p 2

[Al. Avdeyenko "Television Review": "The Right To Speak"]

[Excerpts] Vladimir Vysotskiy sang and spoke on the screens in our homes for the whole of last Friday evening. It has taken 7 years for this encounter to take place. And I do not think that I was alone in asking a natural and elementary question: In what way was this recording unsuitable for whoever imposed his overbearing veto on it? Such questions are difficult to answer. So, let my answer also be elementary: It is evident that Vysotskiy himself was unsuitable, his individuality, the very fact that he was himself.

And it is that much more bitter today, hearing the singer's voice and his words, to realize how important this contact with the audience was for Vysotskiy himself, how he wished to be heard and understood. And how he believed that he was not speaking into an empty space but was addressing those whose opinion he valued. He was perfectly well aware that the whole country was singing his songs and that their popularity knew no limits. So, what was lacking? The right to be together with his works, the right to be integral, the right to speak his own words and just the ones written for him.

And may be it is not so much the songs but the artist's dignity, his conviction that he works for people, that is the most valuable aspect of this recording. How important this is--to speak about your own self before you have been altered by interpreters.

And the program itself is not only a reminder of the past but also a lesson for the future, especially valid for television itself. Today television is learning anew how to speak, and the force of this public conversation is a hundred times greater than any lobby discussions, even when the time given to an on-screen discussion is not enough to always reach agreement.

An honest view of a problem already constitutes a realistic approach toward its solution, and television's perturbing and controversial programs awaken the public activeness which alone can advance any cause.

The right to speak is a great right. And the right to be heard is even greater. During the last television program in which he took part, Leonid Maksimovich Leonov recalled with bitterness how his personal warnings were not heeded when many years ago he spoke about Lake Baykal, and about other ecological problems, and about the loss of spirituality of which we are complaining today.

Yes, we are seeing on our television screens personalities who expand the horizons of our outlook on life. Personalities always have something to say. But one must be skilled in hearing what is being said so as not to repeat the old mistakes--or commit new ones instead.

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CULTURE

SOVIET ROCK MUSICIAN GIVES OFFICIAL PRESS CONFERENCE

LD082136 Moscow TASS in English 2131 GMT 8 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS--The first ever representative of Soviet rock music appeared before foreign journalists at the Press Centre of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs here today. Aleksey Kozlov, a composer and sax player, is the leader of the group "Arsenal" which is popular with young people.

"There are several very popular trends in Soviet rock music today," he said. These are 'new wave', 'hard rock' and 'retro rock'. 'Heavy metal', which is gradually losing its positions in many countries, is going through a certain revival in this country."

In Aleksey Kozlov's opinion modern young people need music of the "heavy metal" type although it is somewhat "heavy" indeed. "It helps remove the nervous and physical stress inevitable in a modern city. It is representatives of this trend that most consistently reflect the theme of struggle for peace in their works."

Aleksey Kozlov said the group "Bravov" was a big success with the Soviet young generation. It is a thrilling example of "retro rock" reviving the music of the 1950s and 1960s when twist and rock-n-roll reigned supreme.

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CSO: 1812/47

SOCIAL ISSUES

KOMSOMOL'S MIRONENKO ADDRESSES USSR WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

PM051227 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 87 Morning Edition pp 2-3

[TASS attributed "abridged" account of speech by V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, the 30 January All-Union Women's Conference]

[Text] We regard Soviet women as the Komsomol's main allies in educating the younger generation. Our young people are good, well educated, energetic, industrious, and sensible. Any country would be proud of young people like these, as a mother is proud of her children.

But it has become increasingly obvious in recent years that cheerful reports on young people's successes and achievements also serve to conceal processes which cannot, of course, be described as isolated negative phenomena. The spiritual aridity, consumerist attitude to life, disrespect for work, and, at times, open cynicism which have become firmly rooted in the minds and behavior of some of our young people have become noticeable, extremely noticeable.

I would put it like this: Young people have started to become callous and their ideals have begun to fade and be lost in the atmosphere of reservation, bureaucracy, formalism, and conventionalism which has literally corroded the Komsomol recently. The mailbags of the Komsomol Central Committee and youth newspapers frequently contain letters from mothers, and not just letters but real cries from the heart from mothers suffering for their children who have become sucked into the maelstrom of alcoholism and drug addiction.

I must frankly say that the Komsomol is answerable, very much answerable to mothers for every young person we have lost. We have enough courage and determination to speak the whole truth at the forthcoming 20th Komsomol Congress and to find ways to reorganize the Komsomol and give back our organization its educational, youth-oriented, militant nature and, let it be frankly said, the authority it appears to have lost. We intend to fight--not in theory but in practice--for young people's physical and moral health, for the purity of their ideals, and for their opportunity to prove their worth and build their own destiny.

We must trust young people and not be afraid of giving them greater independence in resolving their problems. I am sure that women's councils will assist in this work. Ours is a common task.

Allow me to make a few specific suggestions.

We would like to ask you to help us in work with young women. I will say frankly that I have been unable to find forms of working specifically with young women in the Komsomol or means of cultivating womanly pride and femininity in them and developing some specific aspects attributable only to the female nature.

Unfortunately, at present we have gone no further than uttering commonplaces. We have been unaware of women's problems and consequently have not learned to solve them.

The Komsomol has a vital interest in women having as much time as possible for their family and children. Nothing and no one can act as a substitute for mothers in bringing up children.

It is painful to see how future mothers do work that is beyond their strength. How can a woman be feminine if she works during the day as a shop assistant in a food store and has to carry loads as heavy as those carried by a docker in a seaport? I believe that the Komsomol and women's councils could put the question as follows: Women on the whole must be released as soon as possible from heavy physical labor at work and in the home.

Let us also put our heads together on another issue. As a result of divorce more than 700,000 children are without one of their parents. This figure makes us stop and think. What can we do? We must wage a definitive struggle together against drunkenness and alcoholism. Women's councils and komsomol organizations must be the initiators here, because they are the parties mainly concerned. We would be right to speak together in favor of developing an integrated system to support young families. We must also ensure that children in residential homes do not feel themselves cut off from society and they must be given what state institutions cannot give them--human warmth and attention.

Our work together is only just beginning. Life itself and creative questing will help us to find many specific forms of cooperation.

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CSO: 1800/356

SOCIAL ISSUES

ZASLAVSKAYA DISCUSSES SOCIAL JUSTICE AT BAKU CONFERENCE

PM101601 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Feb 87 p 2

[Special correspondents V. Andriyanov and D. Melikov report: "Justice on the Scales of the Economy"]

[Text] Baku--Our country has embarked on the course of renovation and acceleration. We are faced with the historic task of transforming the economic, social, and spiritual spheres of Soviet society. The CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum stressed that the increasingly full revelation and utilization of socialism's enormous opportunities as a new social system, the improvement of its economic foundations, the comprehensive development of socialist democracy, and the deepening of the people's self-management are the conditions for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

The first steps taken in restructuring, experience, and unresolved problems were spotlighted at the "Party Committees and Administration of Social Processes" All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference in Baku. It was held by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociological Research Institute. Having examined questions of the interaction of economic and social processes, the improvement of social relations, the boosting of the social effectiveness of scientific and technical progress, and others, the conference ratified its recommendations.

In this feature we have grouped together opinions on one of the conference's leading themes--the assertion of social justice.

K. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee:

The CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum posed the fundamental question of the party's political strategy. Communists and the entire country were waiting for such an open and frank conversation imbued with Leninist truth and party conscience. The entire course of the plenum and its decisions attest to the timeliness of analyzing critically the problems, stagnation, and other phenomena alien to socialism which accumulated between the seventies and the eighties. The tasks of restructuring the party's cadre policy at the present-day stage--tasks which are designed to ensure the irreversibility of positive processes--were posed broadly and in an acute Bolshevik fashion. The January plenum taught us a historic lesson about party principledness and sincerity

and about the party's courage and supreme responsibility. This is a lesson for all communists--workers, scientists, economic managers, party workers, engineers, and economists....

The plenum particularly noted that the slackening of attention to the development of theoretical thought and research into the dialectics of the motive forces and contradictions of developing socialism has had a negative effect on the resolution of urgent socioeconomic questions.

The alliance of theory and practice, the introduction into managerial activity of the achievements of the social sciences and economic and sociological developments, and the bold intrusion of the demands of life into theory itself are what is required today from both scientists and practical workers.

The party's efforts to develop and improve the social sphere must be reinforced by profound scientific calculations and by the substantiation and development of the most effective methods of solving urgent social problems. And this task can only be implemented by pooling the efforts of scientific and practical workers and providing scientific substantiation for practical activity.

All the foundations and conditions for this creative work have now been created --and that must be particularly stressed. The party Central Committee and the Soviet Government have made a number of fundamentally important decisions to develop working people's creative activeness and initiative.

Party committees should be the main organizers and active proponents of the party's strong social policy. Unremitting concern for people's work, leisure, education, and health and for the satisfaction of their interests and needs should be the law for the activity of all party, Soviet, trade union, and economic organs and social organizations.

This is directly stated in the documents of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum. The plenum considered it fundamentally important to step up the social thrust in the activity of leading cadres and to foster in them the attitude that social problems are a most important political task. The unswerving criterion of a present-day leader's political and professional maturity is the skill to correctly resolve social questions, to create favorable conditions for people's highly productive labor, lives, and leisure, and to assert an atmosphere of creative questing in collectives.

New thinking is needed here, along with a genuine grasp of the art of political leadership of social processes and the development of the skills and the desire to assess phenomena and the problems of social and spiritual life from broad statewide viewpoints and to find suitable ways and means of resolving them.

How Many Vacancies Do We Have?

Academician T. Zaslevskaya, chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Industrial Production Economics and Organization:

Ideas about social justice are subjective and deliberately numerous. Because people are not like each other--they have different schemes of values. And because people are linked with the position that they occupy. And this faces science with two major tasks. The first is to study the ideas of social justice put forward by the people and various groups. Neither science nor administration can arrogate the right to ultimate truth on this subject. Generalized ideas can only be developed if we are aware of all different opinions and have a full grasp of the whole picture. The second task is to research the objective aspects of social justice on the basis of consistent implementation of the socialist principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

One way of implementing this principle is to gradually switch enterprises onto the principles of self-financing and self-capitalization. However, it is necessary to clearly realize that the logical consequence of these principles will be bankruptcies--that is, the closure of those enterprises which have been working poorly and unreliably. It is worth consistently implementing the principle of self-financing of enterprises (without which our national economy will not take the necessary steps forward) when a proportion of workers interested in social production start to be released from it.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor N. Aitov of the Ufa Aviation Institute:

The average annual pace of release [vysvobozhdeniye] will be very high. Under these conditions two major problems arise.

The first is to provide a rational system of job placement for all those released. We have every condition for preventing the emergence of unemployment. The improvement of the equipment shift index is an enormous reserve. New enterprises and the development of construction and the services sphere require large work forces.

The second--and much more complex--problem lies in the need for mass retraining of all workers. In the next 15 years the work of most workers will change fundamentally. The demand now made on all people equally is to train and retrain.

Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Gaga, faculty chief at Tomsk State University:

A new component of education--continuing [nepreryvnyy] specialized vocational education--should be formulated and developed.

V. Kudrevatykh, Tomsk plant party secretary:

Front-ranking workshops operate at the Tomsk Radiotechnical Plant, for instance. Engineers are the scientific leaders of these workshops. They conduct specialized courses. Engineering and technical workers work in creative engineering groups.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences G. Sokolova, section chief at the Belorussian Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law:

The pace at which the capital:labor ratio in the USSR is increasing outstrips considerably the pace at which spending on education per individual worker is growing. This gap is leading to substantial economic losses.

T. Zaslavskaya:

There are many vacancies, but we should not close our eyes to the fact that often these fictional vacancies coexist with hidden labor surpluses. Clearly, a considerable proportion of these vacancies will disappear as soon as we switch to the principle of self-financing. The remaining vacancies will, of course, continue even under the new economic conditions. But if they are in the country's eastern regions or in sectors with heavy labor conditions, the question of resettling manpower from certain areas to others is by no means trivial. That is why simply referring to the large number of vacancies is not very convincing. The substantial increase in the equipment shift index presupposes not only the recruitment of additional workers but also the presence of additional raw materials, energy, and fuel. More realistic opportunities for utilizing released labor are linked with the expansion of the services sphere, which is still underdeveloped, and with the expansion of individual and family labor activity. I also think that some mothers and husbands who will earn more under the new conditions will prefer domestic work in conjunction with some trade linked to social production.

In short, ways of finding work for released workers do exist, and these problems are soluble. And we should not be scared of their acuteness in advance. It is impossible for each enterprise to continue to retain surplus people purely to "solve" social problems. We will never achieve high labor productivity growth rates by doing that. We must carry out tests, we must experiment and try to evaluate--not only quantitatively but qualitatively--what awaits us in the employment sphere.

Doctor of Geographical Sciences Professor B. Khorev of Moscow State University:

In a number of major cities--Moscow, for instance--the shortage of labor resources is structural. There are shortages of workers in certain jobs involving heavy physical labor, requiring few skills, or lacking prestige--in construction, at plants, in transportation, and at fruit and vegetable bases. It is to these jobs that unskilled workers are attracted from other cities. Often on the basis of the so-called "quota." This considerably complicates the problem: On the one hand, migration boosts the city's population; on the other hand, the indigenous population is immobile and "puts pressure" on the national economy, resulting in the creation of a mass of superfluous, sometimes even unnecessary, jobs in more prestigious sectors.

The tasks of putting a complete stop to bringing in workers under the quota system and of releasing some of those employed in science, scientific services, and planning organizations--up to 5-7 percent for each 5-year plan until the year 2000--are now being set in Moscow. On average some 50,000 people will be released per 5-year plan in science and scientific services along, which employ over 900,000 people. Where will these people work? Who will replace the "quota workers" at unprestigious and heavy production facilities?

Quite a bold and effective solution to the problem would be to change the existing administrative norms for population migration to major cities, which would reduce both the quota problem and the problem of finding work in the city for released workers.

Why Pay Rates Differ

T. Zaslavskaya:

And yet one of the most important aspects of social justice in our society is consistency in wages in terms of both quantity and quality. But is this observed in real life? Take merely the "scientist-engineer-worker" chain. People essentially responsible for scientific and technical progress are paid less than workers. And this, of course, is not the only major discrepancy. We are currently increasing the wages of 75 million working people in the production sphere. Yet the low pay levels in trade, consumer services, and food industry enterprises seem to be specially aimed at ensuring that people make up in kind what they fail to receive in cash. It is assumed that people will not lose out. In Moscow as in other cities a struggle is under way against abuses in trade. It is planned to transfer several thousand workers from the main industrial sectors to trade. Here the question naturally arises: How will they be paid? A good worker earns not less than R250-300. But when they transfer to trade they will receive R90. But they are not being transferred in order to become thieves but to smash the system whereby people cover up for each other and put a stop to moral degeneration. It is necessary to equalize the wages paid for work of equal quality in the production and service spheres.

Yet another discrepancy is territorial. Eastern regions require accelerated development, but living standards in eastern regions are as low as ever. And apart from Tyumen Oblast, which devours a great deal of manpower and is increasing its population, the remaining oblasts are continuing to lose their cadres.

Yet another discrepancy relates to managerial and ordinary cadres, leaders and their subordinates.

I think that leaders' wages do not correspond to the real complexity and difficulty, nervous strain, and skills required for the job. Hence, on the one hand, there are definite difficulties in molding skilled management cadres, but on the other hand there emerges as compensation a system of perks and privileges to supplement wages--from specialized supplies to all kinds of other things--which are very clearly noticed by the population and cause annoyance.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Rogovin, chief scientific worker at the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociological Research Institute:

In continuing the discussion, I would like to draw attention to the existence of advantages and privileges in certain sectors of the national economy. Departmental advantages arose during the years of the USSR's industrialization, when, it was deemed necessary to highlight priority national economic sectors

and production facilities. As a result of the retention of these advantages equally skilled working people in different sectors carrying out work of equal difficulty and complexity have unequal access to social benefits: departmental housing, health and medical establishments, and so forth. As a rule these privileges are granted with no consideration for workers' real labor contribution, but simply because they belong to a certain department or sector. This leads to the growth of socially unjustifiable privileges in Soviet society.

Of course, certain industrial sectors will continue to receive priority in the future too. We cannot fail to take account of the features of work or territories. But even here the distribution of benefits should be differentiated.

How to Equalize Opportunities

T. Zaslavskaya:

There is yet another little-noticed but quite important way of redistributing income--by creating a substantial difference between consumer prices for goods and services and their cost to society. In a number of cases such differences are socially justified. For instance, the very high price of vodka has been established in order to reduce the social ill of drunkenness. Or there is a case for, say, the cheap sale of children's clothing, and so forth. But we have many goods and products whose prices are very greatly different from their cost. And this has not social or economic justification. This applies above all to meat and milk, and to a lesser extent to grain products.

The amounts paid to enterprises producing meat and dairy goods from the state budget to subsidize these products run into tens of billions of rubles. Where do these sums come from? Clearly not from wage funds and not from accumulation funds. The only source can be social consumption funds. How are they distributed? As subsidies to those who buy meat and butter at state prices. This cannot be explained from either the economic or the social viewpoint. After all, meat and milk are in short supply, so why should we artificially exacerbate those shortages further by using prices that bear no relation to real costs? It is necessary also to lay down prices for meat and milk which will ensure normal profitability for their production and at the same time use the same resolution to increase wages, pensions, and grants. But, of course, very thorough preparations must be made for this too--we must look before we leap, as the saying goes.

Candidate of Economic Sciences S. Mukasyan, chief of the Social Statistics Section at the USSR Central Statistical Administration Scientific Research Institute:

Why should prices be increased? We should reduce prime costs and solve the problems on that basis. We must take a very cautious and scientifically sound approach to everything concerning the interests of tens of millions of people. We should extensively study public opinion through state statistical organs on the basis of well-conceived programs before increasing the price of anything. And decisions should be made on that basis. That is the only way to operate.

T. Zaslavskaya:

Yes, decisions concerning the people's interests should be made without their participation. But if we just ask people whether the price of some such item should be increased the answer will always be negative. This means we must explain to people profoundly, frankly, and seriously why this question is being asked and what economic and social distortions are being caused by the existing system of prices and pricing.

Let us just take apartment rents. Everyone can see and understand the good aspects of their being low. Renting an apartment is no problem for anyone--even if you have a "mansion." But one of the negative consequences of this situation is that the country's housing and consumer services make heavy losses and the housing stock is being destroyed and is in a very poor condition. The position over water supply, drainage, and heating is even worse. The state lacks the funds to maintain the housing stock in a good condition and the apartment rents paid by the population are a very small part of the funds needed. All this leaves municipal services in the most lamentable position among all sectors, despite their immense social importance.

In the question of increasing apartment rents and retail prices the most terrible thing is to tackle one part of the problem and avoid another. I am very worried that the first part of my proposals may be heeded but the second part will not be. If the population's payments to the state are increased via retail prices and apartment rents, then at the same time people must be fully recompensed with the same amount of funds via increased wages. This step is only possible on the basis of a very detailed nationwide discussion. It is necessary to study public opinion in very great depth and fully and honestly return to the people what will be taken from them in another form.

But then the question arises of precisely who to recompense. One approach is to return money to all those who lose most from the increased prices and apartment rents--that is, the most affluent groups. Another approach is to redistribute income in favor of those whose labor is at present substantially underpaid--that is, moving toward greater justice.

It is already clear from this example that there can be no unified approach to justice: By themselves both approaches are fair, but they contradict each other. Obviously, only a compromise will be correct.

Which groups win and which lose form a more consistent implementation of the principle of social justice? The winners, first and foremost, are those people who have high labor potential and are considerably underutilizing it at the present time. It is precisely this skilled group of people--the "yeast" that makes society rise--that will benefit in comparison with their existing position.

Furthermore, those groups which through no fault of their own are today in a worse situation will also benefit. I include in this group engineers, scientists, inhabitants of the country's eastern regions, workers in the non-production sphere, and a certain proportion of management cadres.

Who will be the losers? Groups with limited labor potential, unskilled people, and those who currently enjoy unjustifiable privileges and whose earnings are excessive in comparison with what they give to society. In short, opposite groups.

However, it must be realized that social justice will not be introduced by itself. Since it concerns people's social interests a struggle will take place and the measures being taken will be opposed by individual groups. Since the bulk of the working people nonetheless show great interest in social justice we should gear ourselves first and foremost to them in radically restructuring the entire system of social relations.

The most reliable way to rapidly assert social justice is to develop political democracy in every possible way. Party organs' practical and concrete work is aimed at ensuring that the interests of all groups in society are adequately represented in management organs, heard, and taken into account.

Sociology and Management

A. Bashdamirov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Section and corresponding member of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences:

This work is being actively conducted in the republic by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Center for the Study of Public Opinion and Sociological Research. Sociological materials help us to analyze in greater depth the present-day phenomena and processes taking place in the republic's political, economic, and cultural life and to determine the main guidelines in ideological work. I would like to spotlight at least two of them, social justice and discipline--labor, social, and moral discipline.

In the eyes of the people's masses social justice is the main achievement and a compulsory characteristic of socialism. The struggle to assert social justice in each cell and each component of our society must be organically bound up with the fostering of a sense of justice in everyone.

T. Zaslavskaya:

Under the conditions of the restructuring of social relations sociology is of much greater importance than ever before. It was on this when society's development had stagnated and management organs brushed aside sociologists in annoyance, and quite another now that reliable feedback from management centers is needed.

We have a social policy but in my view we do not yet have a social program which would accord with strict scientific demands. Currently, for instance, the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee is developing a long-term program for the social development of our society's agrarian sector. The developers of this program (we also participated in it somewhat) encountered severe theoretical and practical difficulties with regard to the insolubility of many initial questions. Yet the agrarian sector is child's play, as the saying goes,

compared with the country as a whole. One urgent and simultaneously complex task for sociology is to draw up an integral, inherently coordinated, and effective draft program for the country's social development which would be organically linked with the country's economic development program.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

ARBITRARY INCLUSION IN 'DIVIDED FAMILIES' HIT

LD151553 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 15 Feb 87

["Bogus Tragedies Acted Out Under instigatory Scrips": TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow 15 February (TASS)--By TASS Commentator Vladimir Burakov:

"Divided families" is a term which has been quite popular with some quarters of late.

They have been using it every now and then to create the impression that it has some relation to law which, everybody knows, no-one is allowed to break.

The matter is, however, that it is the very persons that have arbitrarily included themselves in this dubious category that are attempting to break the law: Anxious to squeeze tears out of the champions of legality abroad, they are seeking to wangle permission to act contrary to rather than in keeping with Soviet legislation.

Example one. When the Soviet synchronized swimming team was competing in Spain in 1982 and her teammates were performing beautiful pirouettes in the water, V. Gerasimova pulled off an ungainly one, by plunging into the U.S. Embassy in Madrid and asking for political asylum in the United States.

That has how the young swimmer landed herself in the category of people living abroad in violation of the regulations established by the USSR Council of Ministers for Soviet citizens going and staying abroad.

This is why her invitation to her mother G. Gerasimova to visit her in the United States, which the latter has been waving wherever she can, does not have any legal force.

The Gerasimovs and the anti-Sovieteers campaigning on their behalf abroad have been describing their situation as a "divided family" case. But it is no other than the young swimmer herself that has "divided" the family and made sure that the Gerasimovs now live separately and not together as befits daughter and mother.

It is true that in 1983 the daughter changed her mind and went to the Soviet consulate in San Francisco to lodge a written request for permission to return

home. But her mother rebuked her immediately: "A reunion in Moscow? This is out of the question. I want it in the United States and that [is] all there is to it."

Example two. A graduate from the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages, V. Pimonov from 1972 to 1982 worked in the system of the Ministry of Medium Machine Building and, according to corresponding documents, "has the knowledge of secret data which has not lost its importance."

Pimonov is married to a Danish woman who in her time studied at the Russian Language Institute in Moscow.

The case seems clear: Any state is entitled to protect its secrets but the couple are welcome to live in Moscow, the more so as Pimonov's wife has every possibility to reside in Moscow and visit her native Denmark whenever she wishes.

But the Pimonovs and the anti-Sovieteers echoing them abroad keep harping on the same "divided family" theme. They knew in advance, in the meantime, that for some time they would not be able to go to live in the wife's homeland but they still consciously decided to go into this kind of situation.

Today, however, they are claiming somebody has deliberately "separated" them.

Regrettably, one has to speak of the fact that the two examples are united not only by the striving of G. Gerasimova and V. Pimonov to circumvent Soviet law but also by the heightened attention paid in the West to the actors in these bogus tragedies.

They in the West need examples of violations of human rights in this country badly indeed. The fact that the "divided families" argument has been used ever more frequently in speaking of the two cases of late shows an obvious intention to fabricate what they apparently cannot find in the real life of Soviet people.

G. Gerasimova and V. Pimonov perhaps believe that the "backing" they have been receiving from abroad reflects some people's moving concern and affection for them. If this is so, they are grossly deluded.

They are only needed as "divided families." Otherwise, the Western anti-Sovieteers will not have anything to clamor about.

They need obedient hands to send demagogical letters to the current International Peace Forum in Moscow so that to mar the atmosphere at this important event even with just a pinprick.

They are unwilling to reckon with the fact that representatives of the world public have gathered in the Soviet capital to find ways of averting what is not a sham but a really possible tragedy--nuclear war.

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CSO: 1812/63

SOCIAL ISSUES

DISENCHANTED EMIGRES TO U.S. ADDRESS NEWSMEN

PM041031 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jan 87 p 3

[Report by unnamed TASS correspondent: "Life Abroad"]

[Text] A press conference was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center yesterday with those who left the motherland in pursuit of transatlantic myths.

Repatriates sat at a table behind microphones. They are all young, and all creative workers. None of them had wanted for anything in the motherland. Nor did they live in poverty abroad--in the United States and Canada. So what, then, induced them to leave the USSR and then to strain persistently to return?

Rashid Atamalibekov, movie director: I left the USSR in 1978 after quarreling with my cinematographer bosses over the movie I was making at the time. Having encountered red tape, as it seemed to me, at the State Cinematography Committee, I slammed the door. The second reason was that I wanted to see the Western world with my own eyes.

Yuriy Chapovskiy, mathematician: I too left in 1978, when I was 19. I had read a lot about the West and seen American and French movies. That naturally aroused my curiosity, and I wanted to live that life.

Arkadiy Berkut, theater school graduate: I was motivated not only by the desire to join my father, who was living in Canada, but also by the unsatisfactory nature of opportunities for creativity.

...While there is a certain outward difference in the reasons, it is not hard to detect in the repatriates' answers the mainspring that prompted them to take what later proved to be a fateful step: the hope that everything would be better abroad. But how did things turn out in practice?

R. Atamalibekov: America, which has great masters in cinematography, literature, and art, unfortunately leads an unspiritual life.

A. Berkut: My disenchantment with capitalist society grew and grew. The chief god on the other side of the ocean is material sufficiency. And all spiritual life is tuned onto that god.

...They did not open up any America to us with their stories about America. But the conclusion that they all reached unanimously is a very instructive one: A person brought up in a just socialist society cannot lead a full life in a world of inhumanity and profit-making.

SOCIAL ISSUES

FATE OF SOVIET EMIGRES DISCUSSED

PM100913 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 February 1987 first edition carries a full-page article on page 4 by L. Shkarenkov, doctor of historical sciences, under the heading "White Illusions," in which he answers readers' questions about the fate of "white" forces after the Russian Civil War.

In the first section, entitled "From Monarchists to Anarchists," Shkarenkov deals with the question of whether there is any value in bringing up the subject of white emigres today. "It is important," he says, "to know everything in history, because if we keep quiet about certain phenomena and the role played by some individuals, including those from the counterrevolutionary camp, the picture of the historical process is invariably distorted." Moreover, he says, "the 'white emigres' in the broad sense of all those who left the motherland lafter the October Revolution, were a serious political force in those years."

The second section, entitled "'activism' and terrorism," deals with the question of how real the threat really was of military action by the white emigres after the civil war was over. In answer to this, Shkarenkov says "it would be a mistake to believe that with the defeat of the white armies the threat of military operations being undertaken by them would likewise disappear." He cites as an example of "white emigre activism" the congress opened in Paris on 4 April 1926, P.B. Struve being among the organizers.

Moving onto the subject of the "new tactics" adopted by the white emigres, he explains the origin of this volte-face as being an appeal by P.N. Milyukov, leader of the cadets, in December 1920 to "abandon 'white dogmatism' and renounce old, unjustified methods of struggle."

In the section entitled "reality proved to be a revelation," Shkarenkov discusses the issue of whether Russia lost most of its intelligentsia as a result of the revolution. "According to the results of one survey conducted in 1930," he says, "it was established that there were approximately 500 scientists, including 150 former professors from Russian universities, among the Russian emigres in various countries. In reality, however, the figure was considerably larger, particularly in the first years of emigration." "The Soviet state," he says, "has always left the doors open to those scientific and cultural figures who have expressed the wish to return home." Listing some of the more

prominent figures who left Russia after the revolution, such as I.A. Bunin, M.I. Tsvetayeva, and M. Chagal, "some of whom, shedding their illusions, subsequently returned home," he makes the point that "the Soviet Union values genuine works of art created by our compatriots abroad, and no one now feels vindictive toward those cultural figures who once left Soviet Russia."

Noting the change of attitude among emigre circles affected by outside events, he notes that "serious consideration in emigre circles was caused by the growing threat of world war." Emigres abroad "declared their willingness to defend Soviet power without any conditions attached," while others made it clear that they could be counted on only as long as Russia was in danger.

Finally, Shkarenkov turns to the descendants of the original white emigres and Russian emigres in general. Taking those living in New York as an example, he says, "it soon becomes clear that, on the whole, these people are needed by no one. According to figures given by American Sovietologists, approximately 20 percent of emigres would like to return home to the Soviet Union. An even larger percentage are dissatisfied with their new life and are beginning to understand that they have been harboring illusions and will not be able to fulfill their wishes."

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CSO: 1800/351

SOCIAL ISSUES

SHIKHANOVICH, ZELICHENOK, OTHERS RELEASED FROM DETENTION

LD180815 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0657 GMT 18 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow, 18 February (TASS)--One hundred and forth Soviet citizens who have submitted petitions were released from further serving their periods of punishment. This was reported in today's MOSCOW NEWS, quoting information obtained at a briefing at the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In response to a question by the MOSCOW NEWS correspondent regarding the legal grounds for thier release, the following explanation was given. That the peditions from such citizens were being individually considered by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. These individuals had declared that they were ceasing their illegal activities.

The examination of similar petitions is continuing.

Those released included: Shikhanovich, Zelichenok, Volokhonskiy, Grigoryants, Meylakh, Skuodis, Albrekht, Terelya, Skvirskiy and Ogorodnikov.

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CSO: 1800/351

SOCIAL ISSUES

RSFSR JUSTICE OFFICIAL ON INDIVIDUAL LABOR LAW

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Gubarev, RSFSR Deputy Minister of Justice, under the rubric "Specialist's Opinion": "Based on Personal Labor"]

[Text] Recently a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a law "On Individual Enterprise." It is, naturally, the logical continuation of the campaign for social justice and for the ruble earned honestly in full accord with the principle of socialism, "to each according to his work," and against the nonlabor ruble that is wrongfully obtained. Now the person with "golden hands," the master or specialist who is able and has the right to work in the sphere of activity permitted by the law need not hide his eyes and be afraid that he will be reproached for it.

Indeed, let us recall what the attitude in the recent past was toward, say, those who kept private orchards. Many hotheads who saw them as money-grubbers and waged an all-out war against them. They were called private entrepreneurs, which is fundamentally incorrect and, if you want, uneducated. We have long since had neither private entrepreneurs nor, especially, private ownership in our country. There is personal property, which is proclaimed in Art. 13 of the USSR Constitution.

I can recall an angry note long ago in a newspaper in defense of a specialist in making children's felt boots, which it was absolutely impossible to find in the stores. But the child of the author of the note needed them greatly. And so he was asking who got the idea of putting all sorts of obstacles in the way of the felt-boot maker. He was right to ask. Only at that time he could get no answer.

Why? There are several reasons here, but I will limit myself to just one, which in my view covers all the rest. Previously there was no precise, clear definition of such a concept as "individual enterprise." The norms that were previously in effect suffered from vagueness of wording, which opened up the possibility of interpreting them in different ways. This, in turn, permitted many zealous administrators to engage in do-it-yourself legal work. You yourself understand what could take place and the sort of "flexibility" one could expect. And when management agencies are not flexible, then those who prefer illegal enterprises and dishonest earnings, who have adapted themselves

to pulling in nonlabor income and who are little concerned over the moral aspect of the matter--or, for that matter, the legal aspect--become extremely flexible and clever.

When the new USSR Constitution was adopted, Art. 17, which authorized individual enterprise, was specially included in it. But this could not eliminate all the problems right away. Moreover, in order to bring existing legislation into conformity with the Basic Law, more than time was needed. What was needed was a change in the whole social atmosphere in the country, which is what happened following the CPSU Central Committee's April (1985) Plenum and, especially, after our party's 27th Congress.

Now, when public opinion gives preference not to the ruble that is handed out but to the one that is honestly earned, normative regulations on individual enterprises have been brought into full conformity with the USSR Constitution. The new law is one such document.

Let me start with what in my view is the main thing in it. For me the main thing consists in the absolutely precise definition of the very concept of "citizens' individual enterprise." Its significance, objectives and the purpose of its development are disclosed. The law puts an end to the former confusion, whereby some people, whether out of ignorance or mental laziness, failed to distinguish additional income that had been rightfully earned, even though it may have been large, from unlawful income. Now it's easy to do so. Just two conditions characterize the legality of such activity: personal labor, which may be supplemented by the labor of family members (a spouse, parents and other relatives and dependents who have reached the age of 16) who reside with an individual, and participation in social production. It is clear that the second condition does not extend to retirees, disabled persons, housewives, and students and pupils who have expressed the desire to increase their income by working within the limits of the ability in the sphere of cottage crafts, consumer services and the social, cultural and other spheres.

Now for the purposes and objectives. First of all, existing realities are honestly and directly acknowledged. And reality consists in the fact that for a certain time our state will not be able fully to satisfy the needs of the population for a number of paid services such as, for example, the repair of apartments, household appliances and motor vehicles, the sewing of garments, the construction of garages and orchard houses, etc. It cannot yet give up the private, if one may put it that way, engagement in medical practice--of course, that which is permitted by the law.

And so, whether we like it or not, it is not yet possible to get by without individual enterprise. Incidentally, according to scientists' data, 10 to 12 million rubles' worth of such services are provided to the population annually.

Whatever you say, all this is understandable and natural: After all, the state has an interest in satisfying demand for the services that people engaged in individual enterprise can provide. Especially if this enterprise is placed under effective oversight, which is exactly what the law that has been adopted does.

And so, its chief purpose is to expand the possibilities of utilizing the professional skill, knowledge and direct experience of millions of Soviet people in order to balance demand and supply and eliminate shortages in the spheres encompassed by the law. Let me note in passing that this will also help put a stop to nonlabor income. Indeed, if it is possible to enlist the services of specialists in a perfectly legal fashion, who will want to deal with an "underground" craftsman? And he himself will start being cautious.

Conditions and procedures are defined for such activities that rule out any ambiguous interpretations and regional adjustments. So and end will be put to local irregularities or thoughtlessness.

With adoption of this law the state has defined its attitude toward people who engage in individual enterprise. It has, as it were, raised their prestige and strengthened their role in society. Readers I. Spiridonov from Krasnodar Kray, T. Chizhov from Sverdlovsk Oblast and many others are correct: "Now there will be an end to unfavorable public opinion about us and to infringements on our human dignity and, sometimes, our rights. We shall work and help people on a legal basis."

The comrades' reasoning is absolutely correct. It is offensive to an honest person to hear an unflattering opinion about himself and to put up with a hostile attitude. Remember that not so very long ago there were reports about excesses that manifested themselves in some places in the campaign against nonlabor income. In some places people undertook to detach land from plots that in no way exceeded established norms, and in others they undertook to forbid the transportation of produce beyond the boundaries of the oblast. The procurator's office had to take prompt steps to rectify such excesses. In a meeting with the working people of Timashevskiy Rayon, Krasnodar Kray, M. S. Gorbachev emphasized: support must be given to those who raise produce by dint of their own labor, who combine work in social production with work on their own plots.

The new law is also good because it brings people who diligently engage in individual enterprise out from under false accusations and attacks and strengthens their legal and civil status. It provides for the possibility of assistance being given to them on the part of the local Soviet executive committees, enterprises, institutions and organizations. At the same time, it must not be thought that now a completely boundless expanse has been opened up for such enterprise, that you can do whatever you want in any way you want to. Absolutely not! The law provides a rather scrupulously detailed list of authorized and unauthorized types of enterprise, enumerates the rights and duties of persons engaged in it, and defines measures of oversight and liability for violations.

Readers will most likely be interested in the procedures for engaging in individual enterprise. They are simple. First of all, one must receive authorization. It is issued by the ispolkoms of the appropriate Soviets on the basis of a person's place of permanent residence. Prior to beginning to engage in his chosen sphere of enterprise, a citizen must receive a

registration certificate or acquire a patent, for which a state duty is collected. Incidentally, an annual charge is established for a patent.

It should not be forgotten that the income received from such labor is subject to a tax. It is, in fact, called an income tax. And there is nothing out of the ordinary here. After all, the state collects a tax on the earnings that we receive, along with bonuses, pay increments, honorariums, etc. Consequently, it is perfectly natural here. It will be set in accordance with the sum of the income received and with consideration for public interest.

In addition to obligations to the state, duties are also established to those for whom work is performed. And how could it be otherwise? The law protects the rights and interests of purchasers and clients for services and requires that the proper quality of goods and services be provided and that sanitation and fire-safety norms and rules be observed. In other words, in order to have the right to engage in individual enterprise in the sphere stipulated by the law, a person should be a master of his craft, honest, obliging, not try to circumvent existing regulations, and not deceive either the state or his clients. Otherwise, punishment awaits him in accordance with existing laws. He can also be deprived of permission to engage in his chosen activity, and his registration certificate or patent can be confiscated. And if it turns out that he is using, for example, illegally acquired raw materials, other materials, tools or other property, then other penalties--either administrative or criminal--may be imposed. The honest person has nothing to be concerned about here: after all, the state and, in particular, the local soviet ispolkoms, agencies of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, as well as enterprises, institutions and organizations will now provide assistance to citizens in their individual labor--in acquiring everything that is needed (from raw materials to tools), marketing their products, leasing nonresidential premises and other property, and acquiring the necessary information. The state and cooperative retail trade systems and organizations that have surplus or unused materials will come to their assistance: Please, buy them for an affordable price. A great deal of what they need can be rented or leased. If desired, the state will provide credit according to established procedures.

Naturally, there is no need for me to enumerate in detail all the types of authorized and unauthorized individual enterprise. They are so clearly named and classified in the law itself that they hardly require additional clarification.

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CSO: 1800/226

SOCIAL ISSUES

LISSR CALLS FOR STRICTER ANTI-ALCOHOL MEASURES AFTER LOCAL MURDER

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 4 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by R. Greychyus of the Kapsukskiy Rayon under the rubric "Reflections After the Trial": "From Drunkenness to Crime"]

[Text] The room in which the murder took place has been repapered; there are no signs of blood on the wall. But to Paulina Bastene it sometimes seems as if the crimson stains could literally ooze to the surface. At moments like these she is seized with horror....

"I didn't want to commit murder," said her husband Zhigintas Bastis at the trial, "nor was it my intention to beat my mother. But I couldn't control myself. I got sick of her accusations that I took her money...."

Arguments over money were a frequent occurrence in the family in which Zhigintas was raised. His father would hide money from his mother in a box with a false bottom; his mother would sew her money into the lining of her clothing. Distrust, mutual suspicion... and greed. It cannot be denied that the atmosphere was hardly the best for raising a child.

Nevertheless, it seemed as though Bastis would grow up to be "just like everyone else." He finished technical vocational school, became a joiner--and not a bad one at that--served in the army and established a family. While working in the Kaunas construction organization he was thanked officially and awarded certificates several times. Then he went to work for the nursery school at the Kazlu-Ruda Experimental Woodworking Combine, where his wife was employed as musical director. And there it happened....

Zhigintas was the only man in a all-female collective. And, as they say, he made an impression. Neither his work time nor his duties were strictly regulated. He was highly valued, you see; he was forgiven a great deal because, in all fairness, he wouldn't refuse any kind of work.

In her testimony at court, Regina Motsyavichene, director of the nursery school, wrote that "... he worked well and quickly; he was obliging and would also do jobs that were not part of his direct responsibility." From this document, however, we also learn that Bastis would often fill out false orders.

Around town he was in great demand, helping pour a foundation here, building a frame there, resoling a shoe or repairing someone's "diplomat." And for the most part his clients would settle their accounts with this jack-of-all-trades

with vodka. Is it any wonder that he was often punished by administrative order for immoral conduct in public places?

The nursery collective and community organizations should have sounded the alarm; they should have looked at what was happening to this man from the point of view of principles and at the very least given him a dressing down and made him feel ashamed. But nothing of the kind happened; no one was alarmed by the fact that slowly but surely Bastis was ruining himself by drinking, that he was going over the edge. Bastis started drinking more and more; nor was he able to stop even after the well known decree on drunkenness and alcoholism appeared.

One day his mother accused Bastis of taking her money. When all is said and done, it's not important whether the old woman was right or not in blaming him. What is important is that by this time, Zhigintas's brain, poisoned with alcohol, was no longer capable of controlling its own decisions and actions. The outcome of this was that after taking one more drink, Zhigintas lifted his hand against his own mother. In a blind rage, he unmercifully beat the one who had given him life. And when he saw the blood and had sobered up somewhat, he lay his mother on the sofa and went off to wash himself.

Meanwhile, his wife, having learned that evening that Zhigintas had gone home drunk, decided to stay at work. Maybe he would lie down and fall asleed, she thought to herself, then there wouldn't have to be a row. But her husband wasn't asleep; he met her with a demand to give him something to eat. And it wasn't until after the meal, when she went into her mother-in-law's room and saw the bruises on her face and the blood on the wall that Paulina understood what had happened....

During the night she roused her husband, who was sleeping peacefully, and told him that his mother had died. And it wasn't until all this had taken place that the doctors finally decided that Zhigintas was an alcoholic and needed compulsory treatment.

The court sentenced the criminal to a long term in prison. Little by little the passions aroused in the little town by the incident, which shocked everyone without exception, are subsiding. But Paulina Bastene is still in a state of emotional turmoil. Zhigintas's sisters blame her for everything: for not having done something to stop his drinking and for not having protected their mother. And to a certain extent they are right. For all intents and purposes, Paulina had resigned herself to her husband's drunkenness. One thing is incomprehensible though, and that is how his own sisters could have resigned themselves to the situation, why they "became anxious" about their mother so late and why they started looking for someone to blame for the tragic fate that befell her. Why didn't one of them, seeing the unhappy situation in which their mother was living, take her into her own home? After all, they live in comfortable urban apartments. There was more than enough room; she wouldn't have been a burden on her daughters. It is also fairly well known that none of the members of their families had any objection to having their grandmother and mother-in-law move in. But no, they didn't take their mother in. They preferred to "feel sorry" for her, as it were, at someone else's expense, at the expense of Bastene, whom they now blamed for failing to take sufficient care of both their brother and mother.

I spoke with many people in Kazlu-Ruda--with those who were far removed from the Bastis family, with those who for one reason or another knew them fairly well, and with those who had shared a meal with the future murderer and treated the "jack-of-all-trades" to vodka. In their conversations with me, all of them stressed that there was no way they could have predicted what would happen, that no one in the town or vicinity could remember anything like this ever happening before, that if only they had known earlier.... And just exactly what could they have known? That drunkenness doesn't lead to anything good? That it's just one step from drunkenness to crime? That drunkenness is the principal cause of domestic crime? Surely all these truths were recognized as axioms by everyone long ago? And here is a man who goes about drinking and carousing for all the world to see, against all common ethical and legal standards, and no one cares. It never occurred to anyone to rein the drunkard in. And these are the results, the terrible, ruthless results....

Whether the local community and the town's Soviet of People's Deputies have learned anything from this bitter story, whether they succeed in checking their homegrown drunkards, of whom, by the way, there are more than just a few in Kazlu-Ruda, and whether they will force them to live like normal human beings--time will tell. Or will they wait for yet another misfortune to occur through drunkenness? As they've waited till now, carrying out the occasional raid, unsystematically, nominally, without effect. The same can also be said about the lectures and discussions that have taken place here on various anti-alcohol topics, which because of their superficiality and unpersuasiveness leave audiences indifferent, neither moving people nor addressing lovers of alcohol directly. And certainly comrades' courts should also be placing stricter demands on drunks.

In a word, it's time this kindness that we've been enveloping the drunks of Kazlu-Ruda with ended.

13206

CSO: 1800/267

SOCIAL ISSUES

EDITORIAL CRITICIZES KAZAKH INTERNATIONALIST EDUCATION

PM142035 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Feb 87 p 1

[Editorial: "A Friend's Help"]

[Text] Internationalism is an integral quality of the Soviet person's spiritual makeup which education is called on to foster persistently so that everyone is profoundly aware of the important truth that ideological commonality among people is the fundamental, irreplaceable, and indispensable condition for their unity and brotherhood. Young people must be taught to judge those around them by their actions, their patriotic sentiments, and their breadth of views. They must be taught not to be guided by group or parochial interests but by nationwide interests, giving the socialist homeland and our great socialist gains priority over everything.

As a session of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Commission on National and International Relations noted, schools families, preschool establishments, and VUZ's have a tremendous role to play in fostering culture in national contacts. From the very beginning education work must be carried out on the basis of the principles of the close combination and indissoluble unity of future citizens' rights and duties, so that from an early age the concepts of duty and responsibility toward society and the proud sense of belonging to a united multinational homeland are laid as the foundation of the developing personality.

Of course, the existing experience of shaping international convictions must be preserved and continued. International friendship clubs in schools and children's establishments outside school expand children's political horizons. Participation by children in the nationwide peace movement is a splendid tradition. Political song contests and thematic essay competitions must be encouraged and republic festivals must be organized. But all this by no means exhausts the opportunities offered by schools.

The special complexity of schoolchildren's ideological and political education lies in uniting it with moral education without reducing it to abstract and bookish verbal preaching. And this applies first and foremost to educating children in the spirit of internationalism. Teachers are faced with a very important task: They must not simply impart knowledge about peoples' friendship to their pupil, nor simply enlist the children in public affairs, but

they must strive to achieve the most important goal--to meld knowledge and practical experience into convictions, lively and ardent sentiments, and a considered civic stance.

The goal of education is to produce citizens who are guided in their lives by communist morality. This, and this alone, must be the test of the activity of schools as a whole and of every pedagogue, every communist teacher, and school party organizations. To argue anything else would be to isolate schools from the renewal and restructuring process that has caught hold of our society.

As we encounter irresponsibility and national narrow-mindedness among young people and instances of antisocial actions, rudeness, and cruelty, we must honestly admit that schools bear a great deal of blame for this, since nobody escapes school. And we must honestly admit that some young people, although they have received a certain amount of knowledge, have failed to develop, with their teachers' help, a correct life stance and strict moral principles.

Teachers' involvement in restructuring and the effective implementation of school reform consist in looking the truth in the face and working energetically for the sake of the chief goal, to achieve real results.

KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA Invited the senior pupils in an Alma-Ata school to say what they understood by ideological conviction. And an amazing phenomenon was discovered: Almost all the boys and girls saw this quality only in prominent revolutionary fighters and in no way linked with it their own ideas about life and their place among people today and in the future, a fact which prompts us to conclude that it is no accident that teenagers are helpless when it comes to political assessment and are incapable of analyzing their own and other people's actions from a social standpoint. Nor is it an accident that schools are not always the victors in the struggle for children's morality and do not always overcome the negative influence on young minds of some adults with backward views, particularly nationalist views.

Political education is only effective when organically combined with all the means of ideological and moral influence on young people. People, as A.S. Makarenko loved to repeat, are not educated in parts. In those schools in the republic where the children are trained to work and be independent, and where they are accustomed to being responsible for their actions, being good friends, and studying with enthusiasm, the teacher's convincing words fall on fertile soil and so are effective. In these schools the results of international education are clearly visible, because the children are led by personal experience to the idea of friendship and solidarity. This is true, for instance, of Akmolinsk Secondary School in Tselinograd Oblast's Tselinogradskiy Rayon, Kokchetav's No 6 School in Dzhambul Oblast's Rayon named for Voroshilov Lugovskiy, the Kazakh Secondary School named for Dzhambul in Alma-Ata Oblast's Narynkolskiy Rayon, Taldy-Kurgan's No 1 Kazakh Boarding School, and the Mamlyutskaya Sanatorium Boarding School in North Kazakhstan Oblast.

Unfortunately, however, separation and isolation of the various stands of educational work are typical of many schools. International education frequently assumes the character of episodic festive events, timed to coincide mainly with holidays and memorable dates and, all similar to each other.

The pursuit of merely superficial effect and quantity and the "bulk" approach to ideological work in general and the education of schoolchildren in particular, and especially the delicate sphere of international education, are fruitless and harmful. This is shown, for example, by the very serious omission of Alma-Ata teacher collectives and party committees. As the Alma-Ata Obkom Buro recently noted, ideological and moral education in the republic capital's schools, technical colleges, and VUZ's is frequently reduced to the recording of facts. The burgeoning nationalist sentiments among young people were ostentatiously ignored and did not receive a proper and timely rebuff. Work to educate young people in revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions and in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism was weakened.

Teachers make insufficient use of the special features of the social environment and so the intelligibility and emotional charge of young pioneer work is diminished. It is common for children to correspond with foreign friends, but often they do not know what instructive and interesting things are going on close by. After all, throughout our republic there are many examples of friendship among people of different nations and ethnic groups, and how useful it is to familiarize ourselves with their good traditions and culture, with families in which the parents are of different nationalities, and with the everyday life of multinational labor collectives.

"The whole atmosphere of our life and joint labor, the family and school, the army, culture, literature, and art," M.S. Gorbachev said at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum, "are called on to shape and foster in Soviet people of all nationalities, and primarily among young people, the noblest sentiments --sentiments of internationalism and Soviet patriotism." The potential of schools in this exceptionally important matter is great. But, in order to make maximum use of them, united efforts are needed from party committees, teaching collectives, families, and the public.

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CSO: 1830/288

REGIONAL ISSUES

GREATER PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES URGED

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 86 p 3

[Interview with Academician A.F. Treshnikov, president of the All-Union Geographical Society, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute for the Study of Lakes, Hero of Socialist Labor and winner of the USSR State Prize, by a PRAVDA press bureau correspondent, date and place not specified: "Plus Publicity..."; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Academician A.F. Treshnikov, president of the All-Union Geographical Society, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute for the Study of Lakes, Hero of Socialist Labor and winner of the USSR State Prize, reflects on the need for widespread discussion of ecological problems and various plans for the "transformation" of nature in a conversation with a PRAVDA Press Bureau correspondent.

[Question] Aleksey Fedorovich, the decree of the party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Cessation of Work to Divert Part of the Flow of the Northern and Siberian Rivers" has aroused enthusiasm among wide circles of the community, which has frequently questioned the wisdom of carrying out the "project of the century," as well as its unfinished state and its numerous flaws. At the same time the question arises as to whether it was necessary to let matters reach such a high level of interference? And how did it happen that the proposals of SPECIALISTS (let us emphasize this word) proved to be mistaken?

[Answer] First of all it should be said that among scientists there never was just one opinion on the subject of this "project of the century." At first many were hypnotized by the boldness and the "beauty" of this idea of turning the rivers around to provide water to the southern regions of the country, which are tormented with thirst. Later, due to a lack of a broad and free exchange of opinion, purely departmental and private interests came to the forefront.

In recently times the press has covered all these upheavals in sufficient detail.

[Question] Nonetheless, maybe you would remind our readers of the essence of the problem...

[Answer] Speaking personally, the first time I became involved with the question of the partial redistribution of the flow of the Siberian rivers was in the 70's when I was working at the Arctic and Antarctic Institute. At that time they were working to clarify whether the diversion would affect the global processes in the Arctic, specifically, whether it would produce climate changes, speed up the melting of polar ice, etc. It was established that the redistribution of water in the projected amounts would not cause global changes. But later, when I joined an expert commission of USSR Gosplan studying the possible consequences of the diversion on those specific areas where it was to be carried out, I and other scientists were forced to acknowledge that the implementation of the plan could lead to a rise in the level of the ground water, that it could turn the taiga into a swamp, disturb the biocenoses and produce other negative results.

At the same time the water consumption in water-short places was then and is today taking place in an extremely inefficient manner: in some regions only 30 percent of the total volume of irrigation water is used for that purpose, the rest is lost: it leaks into the soil or evaporates. Elementary logic requires that the first step is to reconstruct the existing land reclamation systems, to improve irrigation methods, etc.

The more localized plan for the partial redistribution of the flow of northern rivers in the European part of the country into the Volga also has many controversial aspects. Just the fact that it was based on the incorrect idea of cyclical variations in the level of the Caspian Sea says a great deal. When the idea of "saving" the Caspian was put into concrete form in plan documents, the water level of that sea "suddenly" began to rise by itself. Today there is a new problem: what to do with that which was built during the Caspian's shallow period.

In addition, the implementation of the diversion could have led to undesirable ecological consequences in the European North. In particular, the withdrawal of water from Lake Onega, as proposed in one of the versions of the plan, would reduced the water exchange of Lake Ladoga--I remind you that Onega feeds its neighbor through the Svir River. This, in turn, would accelerate the process by which Ladoga is polluted, and it, after all, is the main "well" of Leningrad and the entire adjoining region.

In short, it should be recognized that the supporters of the "plan of the century", to put it mildly, were too hasty, and having made haste, they did not find the strength to acknowledge it. They continued to defend not only the idea itself but also the honor of the uniform itself. The active position taken by the community at large was essential and decisive under these conditions.

More in-depth research is needed into all aspects of the diversion problem. Particular attention--and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the

USSR Council of Ministers points us in this direction--should be devoted to the rational utilization of water resources. The extensive approach to water consumption has outlived its day. The demand for fresh water is growing in a geometrical progression, but water reserves are limited. For this reason even states which are well endowed with water such as the Scandinavian countries and Canada are now making great efforts to reduce water consumption. For example, according to predictions, Finland will utilize only about one-thirtieth of the volume of its river water by the end of the current century.

[Question] Today, when major technical plans have become the norm, when, for example, one relatively large power enterprise can "eat up" an entire river or lake, we are all vitally interested in seeing that such important decisions receive both scientific as well as public approval. After all, society, which needs water or electricity, also cares whether cultural monuments will survive construction or whether a river will die...

[Answer] I would formulate the task this way: a comprehensive scientific approach plus publicity.

It was serious comprehensive study which was not given to the diversion projects, and this was revealed in the process of public discussion. What do we mean by a comprehensive approach? I will clarify with an example.

Only recently it was considered very advantageous to float timber down rivers. It was not noticed at first--and later it was already too late--that the spawning grounds of valuable species of fish were dying. The sinking logs convert the bottom into a kind of road, which dams up the entrance of the ground waters, and the river becomes dead. When comparing the losses and the benefits, it is easy to become convinced that floating logs is an extremely bad business for a state. For this reason the stream driving of timber is now universally banned.

Another example. A hydro-electric power plant is being built. Millions of cubic meters of untouched forest remain in the area of the proposed water reservoir. In order to clear it, two to three years are needed. But the forest costs kopecks, while the electrical energy generated during this time will make it possible to produce such a quantity of output that it would be inconvenient to recall the forest. But the wood remaining on the bottom of the water reservoir decays, fish die and the water becomes unsuitable for drinking. And this means that money must be spent to bring it from somewhere else...

In this way an imaginary benefit is turned into real losses. I maintain that an unthinking, wasteful attitude toward nature does not go unpunished, the question is only when the mistakes must be paid for.

A socialist society with its system of planning has all the prerequisites for eliminating the very possibility of ecologically pernicious actions. We have only to make better use of our advantages.

Specifically, we need to make more use of such an effective tool as publicity. In some places they are still trying to let important decisions slip by "on the quiet," covering themselves with the authority of the institution. But in the end, you can't hide an awl in a bag, sooner or later society will make its judgment on irrational construction and outdated technology. Better that it be sooner. We have no surplus of either material or natural resources. It is essential to put an end (and a decisive end) to the psychology based on the idea that "our country is rich," "we have inexhaustible reserves."

[Question] When we talked about the problems of the diversion, we had in mind geographically local questions. But a majority of ecological problems today know neither geographical or state boundaries. These are the problems of air and water pollution, and one can include here the problem of how to utilize various wastes. Which of them would you consider to be the number one problem?

[Answer] Undoubtedly the problem of waste utilization. After all, it pollutes both the air and water, as well as the soil, although in many cases we could find a secondary use for the production of new output. Today deserts are growing up next to major cities, and valuable agricultural lands are disappearing under garbage dumps. This process is taking place at increasing speed. If nothing is done, then very soon we will literally drown in the wastes of civilization.

I think that every city and village should carry out according to its abilities an inventory of its own wastes in order that a program for waste utilization can be worked out at the rayon and oblast level with the help of scientists and specialists. We have here an untouched area of work, which must be carried out in an atmosphere of the maximum publicity.

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REGIONAL ISSUES

NORTHERN ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS VIEWED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Sep 86 pp 11

[Article by Igor Duel: "What are the 'Subjugators' Subjugating?"]

[Text] The indigenous inhabitants of the Tyumen North do not think that they have the right to be called the "subjugators" or "first comers" for the same reason that the old timers of Chukotka do not. This land was opened up and settled many centuries ago. At first by the local peoples--the Khanty, the Mansi, the Nentsy, the Selkupy and the Komi. Like the Chukchi, they had at their disposal only the most primitive tools of work and recreation, but they did not simply put down roots in one of the harshest regions of the planet; they also created a unique culture. And they studied the gigantic spaces of the Ob region so brilliantly that they gave names to every copse, every swamp and every bend of the taiga and tundra rivers.

And then for 400 years the Russian peasant-pioneers developed the Ob region.

Did the new settlers in this land and their leaders consider all this? Did they pass it on to their numerous subordinates? Let us give a straight answer: they did not consider it, they did not pass it on.

What idea was put forward by those who developed the deposits when they appeared in, let us say, the Tyumen North, armed with powerful equipment, and later lauded not only in the dry prose of newspaper writers but also in trochees, iambs, and all but hexameters? If we throw away the verbal embroidery, we can see that their only idea was: to subjugate. What precisely? Everything in turn: the riches of the earth, the taiga, the tundra, lakes and rivers...

No matter what meaning of the word "subjugate" you take, there is an element of violence in it.

And feeling like a potentate it is good to set off into the wilderness, not into a real one, but into a kind of abstract wilderness, where there is absolutely nothing on the surface, but the depths of the earth are rich in oil and gas.

This is about the way that Western Siberia was drawn in the imagination of one who became imbued with the "spirit of subjugation." So he was disposed to act without thinking and without looking back, according to the old principle : Let's go!

Near Bolshoy Sad Lake, which is not far from the Ob fishing settlement of Dolgoye Pleso, the Khanty-Mansiysk "Order of Honor" Fishing Combine built a fish-breeding base. It was assumed that the lake would contain breeder whitefish. They planned to collect 700 million fish eggs every year. The intention was further to raise the young from the fish eggs, and then to distribute them throughout the Ob basin in order to restore--within a few years--the seriously damaged stocks of these fish, which were formerly the pride of the Ob Region. A half a million rubles were spent on land reclamation and the construction of the base. But it did not last long. Having put the first hundreds of breeder fish into the water in the fall, the fish breeders left the base, and in early 1983 oil prospectors landed at Bolshoy Sad Lake.

They were allotted (by a decision of the rayispolkom) for the construction of a borehole an area 800 meters from the shore, beyond the limit of the water protection zone. But they put their derrick only 30 meters from the winter waterline of the lake. And no reliable embankments were built. Turbid streams of oil products and the drilling solution, which included such a powerful poison as caustic soda, leaked into the lake.

The result? It is reflected with exhaustive clarity in an act of the Khanty-Mansiysk Rayispolkom: "...the Bolshoy Sad Lake due to pollution by spent solutions, oil products and other wastes is no longer suitable for the maintenance of breeder fish (whitefish), that is for fishing purposes." Certain nuances in the behavior of the bold prospectors were also noted in the same act: The production facilities of the base for the collection of fish eggs were damaged to a significant degree by the workers of the Pravdinsk VMK (Tower Construction Office--I.D.): 38 frames were broken, window casings were ripped off, door posts were partly torn off, an electric panel was taken away, lamps and lamp sockets were smashed, etc. The pumping station was taken away to the borehole and adapted for a bath house, electrical pumps were stolen, there were no pipes left, and heating device was dismantled.

And in the end the test well yielded no gas or oil.

Another story.

Nikolay Andreyevich Syazi is a Khant by nationality who has been fishing since childhood and gets catches when others "come up empty." For this he has been granted numerous certificates, awards and even medals.

But recently he ended up in a mess that nearly ruined his good name. He was fishing on the Ob with flowing nets. The method is well known; the fisherman puts his nets in a shallow position so that they do not touch the bottom, but flow downstream by themselves. After attaching a boat to the nets, the fisherman follows them for two or three hours. Then the recovery process--the

catch goes into the boat, the net is put on board and the fisherman moves upstream, returning to his starting place. On one occasion Syazi had just placed his net when he noted a cross-country vehicle moving along the shore. And the vehicle went on to play a strange game with the fisherman: it would overtake him, stop and wait, then move and catch up again. In this way they reached the recovery point. Then, having seen that Syazi had started to take in his net, some people got out of the cross-country vehicle; they began to shout at him, wave their hands and call him over to the shore. This tundra dweller had to respond to such a call: people were suddenly in trouble, help was needed.

Syazi approached the shore. They surrounded and greeted him. One was a tall man with a tie in a handsome jacket, who smiled from ear to ear and asked how the fishing was. Not too bad, answered Syazi, he was catching a bit. They sympathized with him: he must be frozen, it was cold day. Yes, he was a little cold, agreed Syazi. The one with the tie immediately became animated. Let's warm up a bit and he put his hand on his Adam's apple. Among the tundra dwellers the custom is to accept when you are offered hospitality; otherwise you offend people. Syazi drank down a glass. The one with a tie winked at his friends: we have no food, excuse us, he apologized. But we have as much vodka as you want. But Syazi did not drink any more; he hurried back to his boat. They came after him: let's make a deal; we need fish! Syazi threw them one fish and pushed off from the shore. He understood that they were plying him with drink on purpose. The village has seen more than one such case ...

The third story is borrowed from a colleague--the Tyumen writer Alfred Gold. In his documentary book "Polar Meetings" he quotes a very eloquent monologue by the director of a major reindeer-breeding sovkhos, Yamal Giramnur Khabirovich Kadyrov. This is how Kadyrov describes the invasion of his farm's land by an advance detachment of geophysical prospectors: "This is a sad business for us... the geophysicists--they are building Babylon for us... Not a day passes without something happening!...Either they knock down posts, or they beat someone up, or they go riding through the village on a bulldozer. They messed up the school's heating system and the children nearly froze.... "Vandals?" Yes, that's the right word...What I want to ask is what sort of intentions, what kind of consciences do they bring with them? After all, they get glory, honor and money..And you can have it, only respect yourselves and others! How do they come by such barbarianism in their consciousness...You'd think they were not people, but Martians!"

I do not by any means think that "barbarianism" is characteristic of all employees of the petroleum-gas complex. It would be too simple to make judgments about life if people could be divided into "good" and "bad" according to their organizational affiliation. However, you cannot get away from the fact that the appearance of geologists, builders, petroleum and gas workers in the various corners of our land has been related to a large number of incidents of one kind or another.

According to data from the Salekhard Hydrochemical Laboratory, in recent years the oil-product content in the lower reaches of the Ob has begun to exceed the norms for the maximum permissible concentrations (MPC). In June, with the

increase in the melted snow, the MPC of the pollutants increases. Some Ob tributaries have lost their commercial fishing significance. And the Tyumen fisherman have seen their annual catches from the main rivers drop by 10,000 tons in the last two decades. Authoritative experts have acknowledged that the organizations which have developed Tyumen's deposits are obligated to pay the oblast's fishing industry 100 million rubles in compensation. But the debtors are not rushing to pay up. It has been impossible to get more than 600,000 rubles per year out of them. It will take centuries for a complete accounting.

In the last 10 years the petroleum and gas complex has been granted the use of 279,000 hectares of land for the construction of cities, settlements, oil fields, roads, oil and gas pipelines. On this enormous area 17 million cubic meters of forest have been cut down. Only 4 million were actually used. The remaining 13 million are rotting in heaps of trees and land churned up by bulldozers and extending for hundreds of kilometers or buried in trenches. For comparison: in the entire area of the Tyumen Oblast 14 million cubic meters of timber are chopped down every year.

Unfortunately, I cannot be as specific in my attempts to put into numbers the extent of the damage inflicted by the petroleum and gas complex on reindeer breeding. When I talked with Yevgeniy Georgiyevich Kuzyukov, the chief land management engineer of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, in Salekhard, he told me about a strange statistical paradox. Because of the whim of some unknown administrative genius the lichen fields which serve as pasture lands for the reindeer are not considered agricultural lands. For this reason the environmental protection organs do not devote a separate line to the lichen fields; they are lumped together with low-grade waste lands. A person can be fined only an insignificant amount for damaging them; the average is 8-10 rubles per hectare. For the organizations supplied with millions to prospect and develop these areas these fines represent small change. It is simpler for them to pay than to work in the way which they should, which means recultivating the lands, burning off oil spilled in the tundra, filling up slurry pits, removing used concrete blocks and various metal scraps remaining at the sites of former boreholes.

And for the herds of wild reindeer, the hunting of which has always been a vitally important occupation for the northern peoples, the true tragedy has been the construction of the main gas pipelines in the tundra. The tragedy has taken on such proportions that B.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, devoted attention to it in his report to the All-Union Conference on the Development of the Production Forces of Siberia: "It has become clear that in the process of building and operating gas pipelines a substantial number of violations of the environmental protection legislation have occurred. The necessary facilities have not always been provided along the migration paths of wild animals, and this leads to their death."

That is a far from complete list of the results of "subjugation."

The indigenous northern people, who from time immemorial have lived by hunting, reindeer breeding, fishing and working in the forest industry are suffering the most from the changes taking place.

The activities of those developers of the oil and gas deposits who are prepared to sacrifice everything on earth for the sake of immediate interests have encountered in the Ob region a force which the "subjugators" had not taken into account. Here, in the Tyumen North, a wave of public opinion which condemns such an attitude toward the land has reached a level higher than in any other region of the country. Fighting against the right of the "oil kings" to do everything they want are not only the indigenous inhabitants, but also many of the new settlers who work in the oil and gas complex and who have come to love this land. The struggle between the "subjugators" and those who stand for the comprehensive development of the land is heating up with each passing year.

The ispolkoms of the Khanty-Mansiysk and Yamalo-Nenetsk Okrugs as well as local newspapers have actively joined in the struggle. And it seems that everyone is concerned with the ecological education of the newcomers: lecturers from the Znaniye Society, inspectors from the fish protectorate, hunting specialists, and workers from the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Nature.

And the result? Unfortunately, there has not been a lot of success. There is an unwritten "code" which operates in the milieu of the "subjugators," and others of their kind follow it much more strictly than they follow any other teachings.

For example, some geologists once found out that the director of one of their subdivisions had been fined a month's pay for damage inflicted upon the environment. They showed "valuable initiative": they charged themselves five rubles each, and after the necessary sum was collected, they handed it over to their "injured" colleague. And he took the money, although formerly he had never been known to take bribes. He, like his colleagues, sincerely considered himself to be unfairly injured.

And in a city in the Urals the journalist Aleksandr Rebyakin from the local newspaper ZNAMYA, who has written many passionate articles in defense of nature, is often patted on the shoulder by oil workers who say, "Good work, old chap, you tell it like it is." But there is a smile in their eyes: Work, Rebyakin, earn your pay, it's nothing to us. The Motherland needs oil, and we are providing it! For this all our sins will be forgiven..."

In short, the results achieved so far in the struggle against the "subjugators" are not comforting.

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